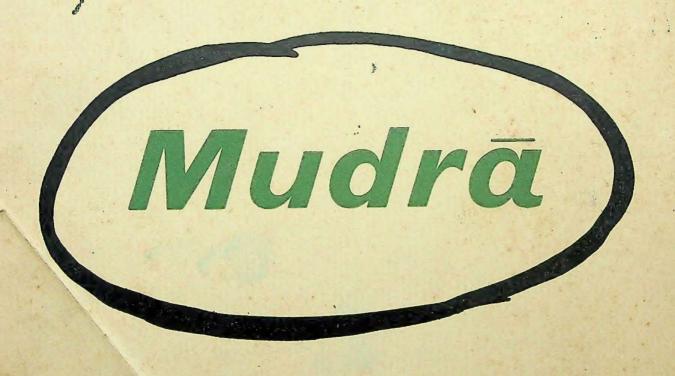
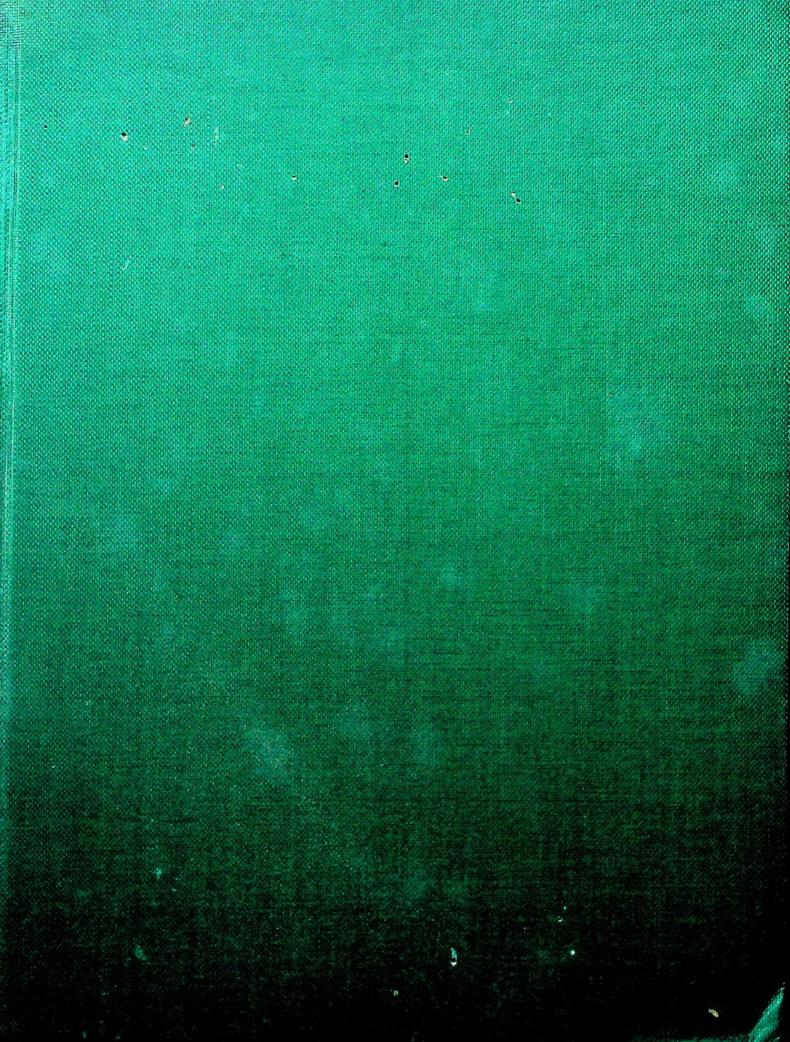
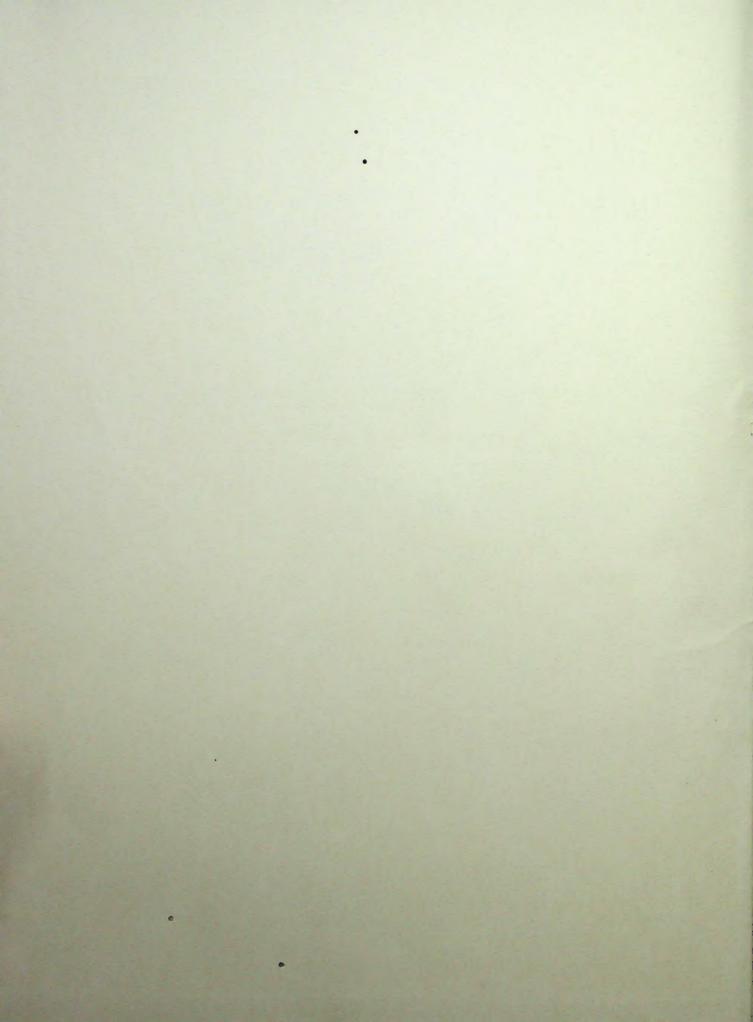
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A STUDY OF SYMBOLIC GESTURES

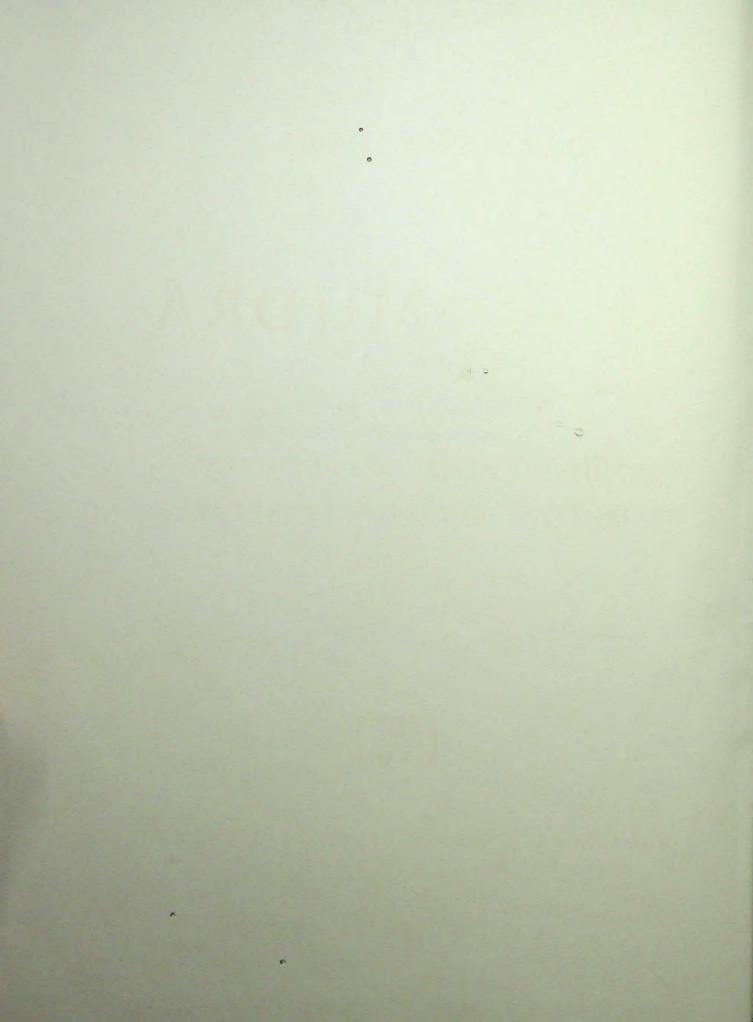
IN JAPANESE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE





MUDRĀ

A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture



E. DALE SAUNDERS

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A STUDY OF SYMBOLIC GESTURES
IN JAPANESE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE





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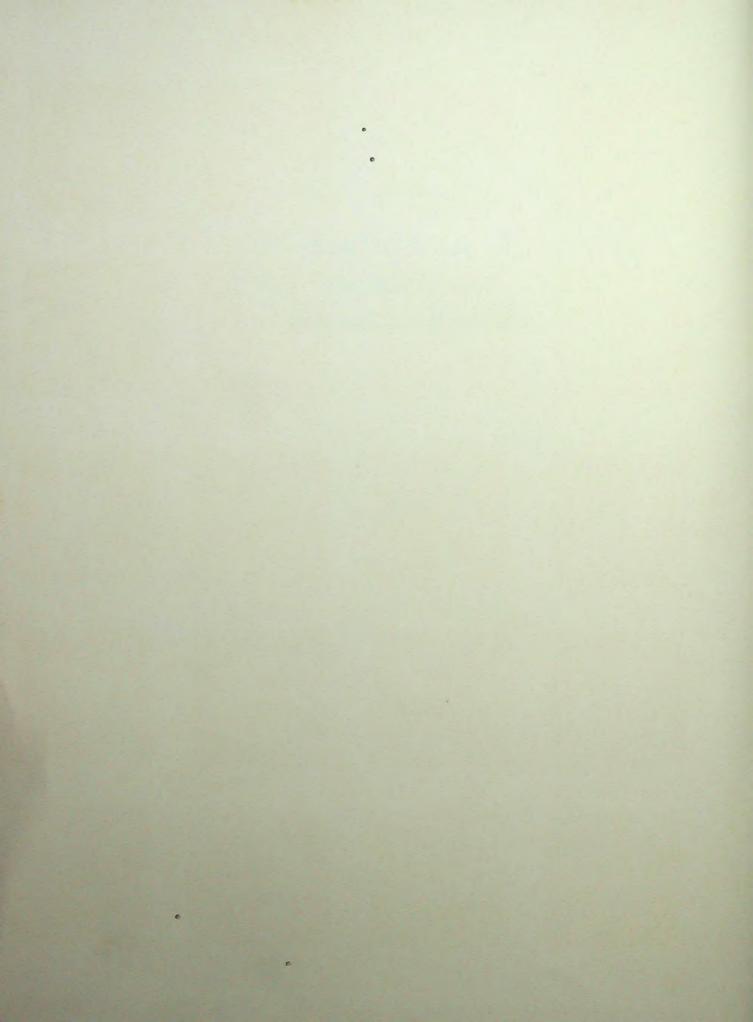
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TO MY PARENTS

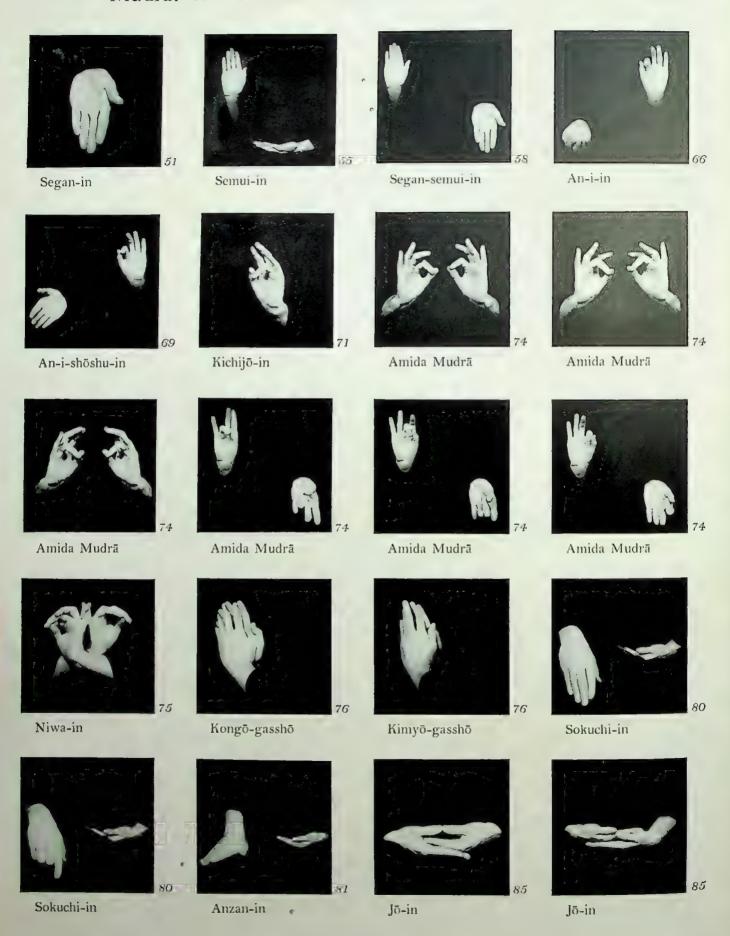
Ernest D. Saunders

Mélanie Douhet Saunders



Mudrā: A PICTORIAL INDEX

Mudrā: A PICTORIAL INDEX



The eight principal and six secondary symbolic gestures, with variants. The numbers indicate the pages of the text where each mudrā is discussed.





THIS INTRODUCTION to the study of mudra was begun in 1949. It was originally hoped that the entire range and variety of gestures could be organized and presented in a way which would make them accessible to the student of Buddhist iconography. But as research progressed, it became apparent that a definitive treatment would be a very long task. The problem was complicated by the diversity of traditions concerning the gestures and the contradictory sources that often make general classifications hazardous. I decided, however, that a preliminary study, despite its limitations, might be of service for the history of Far Eastern art in general and for Japanese sculpture in particular. The following pages are presented as an aid to the student of iconography in organizing in a general way the common symbolic gestures that occur in Far Eastern art. Since this study is based largely on sources that may not be readily accessible, linguistically, to the average student of iconography, and since it has been necessary to use a number of hitherto unfamiliar terms, an attempt has been made to facilitate the use of the material by means of a pictorial index, the use of which requires no previous knowledge of the nomenclature. Above all, I should like to emphasize the introductory quality of this work. The text is general in nature; the greater part of the scholarly comment is brought together in a body of notes at the end of the volume, which will be of use and interest particularly to the specialist. It is my hope that the present work will inspire others to undertake more detailed studies of these symbolic gestures.

I am indebted to a number of friends and colleagues for assistance and advice. First, I should like to mention my former professors Dr. Jane

Gaston-Mahler, of Columbia University, and the late Dr. Alfred Salmony, of New York University, who gave ceaselessly of their help and encouragement.

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I am most grateful, too, for the help I received from Japanese associates during my stay in Japan in 1953–55: particularly to Nakagawa inge of the Shinnō-in, Kōya-san, and to Matsumoto Isamu, who were instrumental in facilitating my visit to Mount Kōya and my studies there.

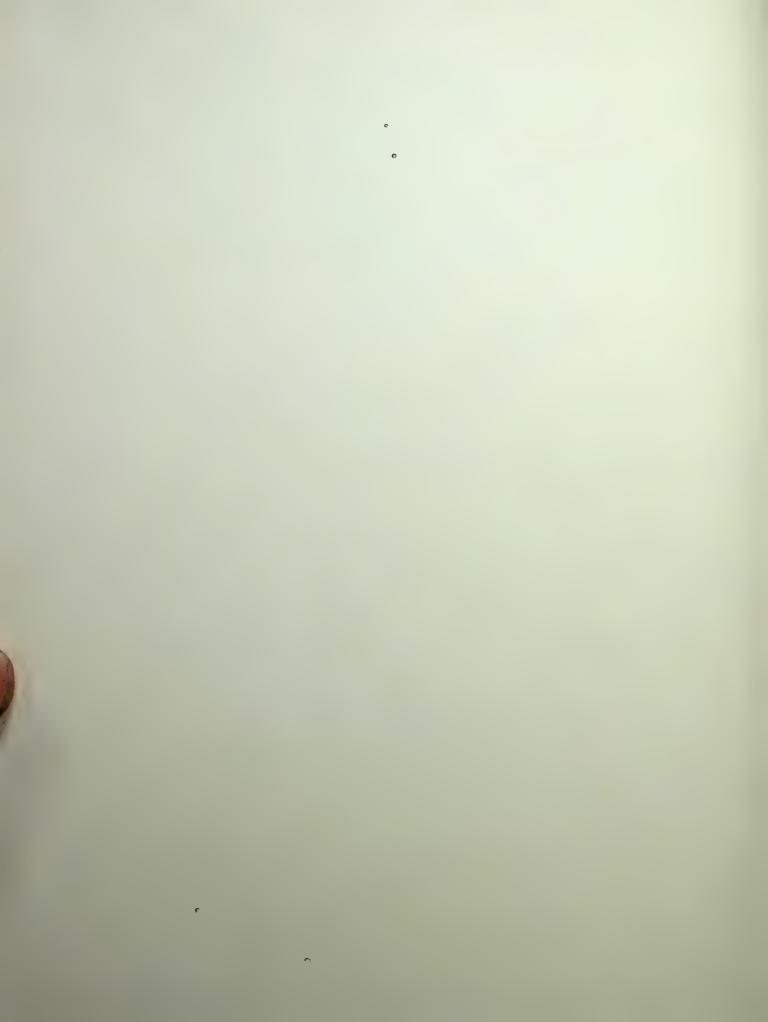
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New York, July 2, 1959

E. D. S.



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NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

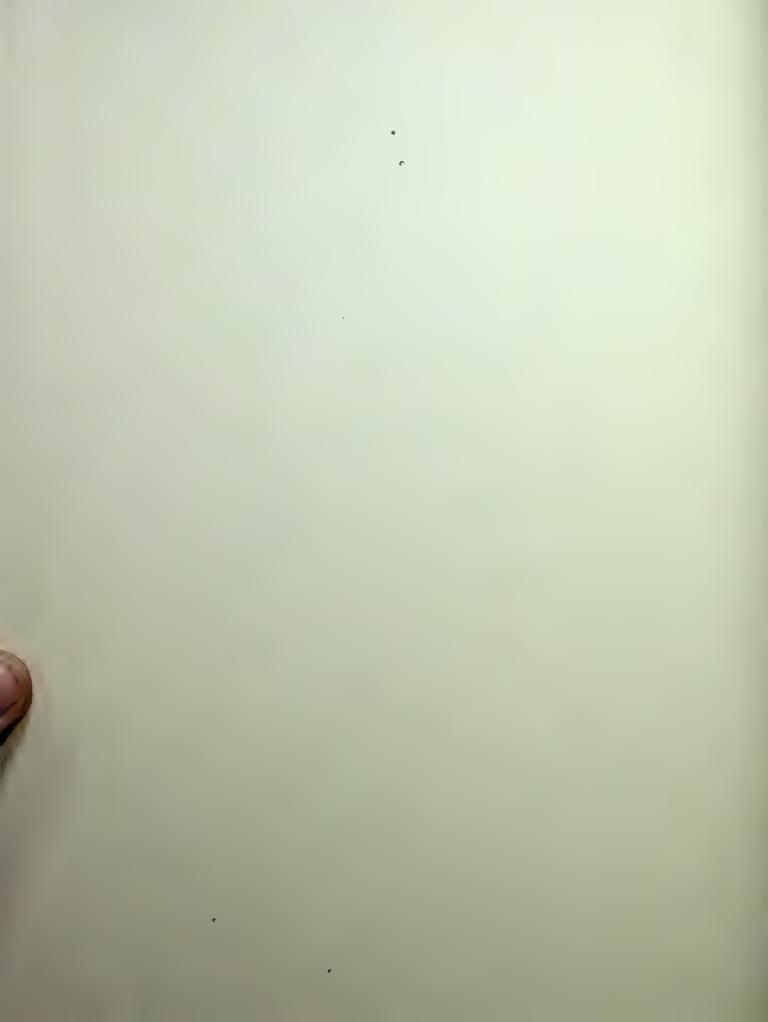
THE PRONUNCIATION OF JAPANESE words is very simple: the vowels are like those in Italian and the consonants like those in English (g is always hard). There are no silent letters (e.g., semui-in = se-mu-i-in).

In the pronunciation of Sanskrit words, the accent usually falls on the penult when it is long, otherwise it shifts to the next preceding long syllable. Long syllables contain vowels bearing a macron (e.g., \bar{a}), diphthongs (and e and o), and vowels followed by two or more consonants (except h). The following list of equivalents is based on the one given in de Bary, ed., Sources of Indian Tradition, p. xiv:

```
as é in cliché
                                                                   as th in anthill
             as u in but
                                                            th
a
                                                                   as kh in blockhouse
                                        as ai in aisle
                                                           kh
             as a in father
ā
                                                            gh
                                                                   as gh in doghouse
i
                                        as o in go
             as i in pin
                                                                   as dh in roundhouse
                                        as ow in how
                                                           dh
             as i in machine
                                au
                                                                    as bh in clubhouse
                                        as ch in church
                                                            bh
r (vowel)
             as er in river
                                 С
                                                                    as ph in uphill
             as u in pull
                                  ś, ş
                                        as sh in shape
                                                            ph
u
             as u in rule
                                        as g in get
                                                            m (n) as ng in sing
```

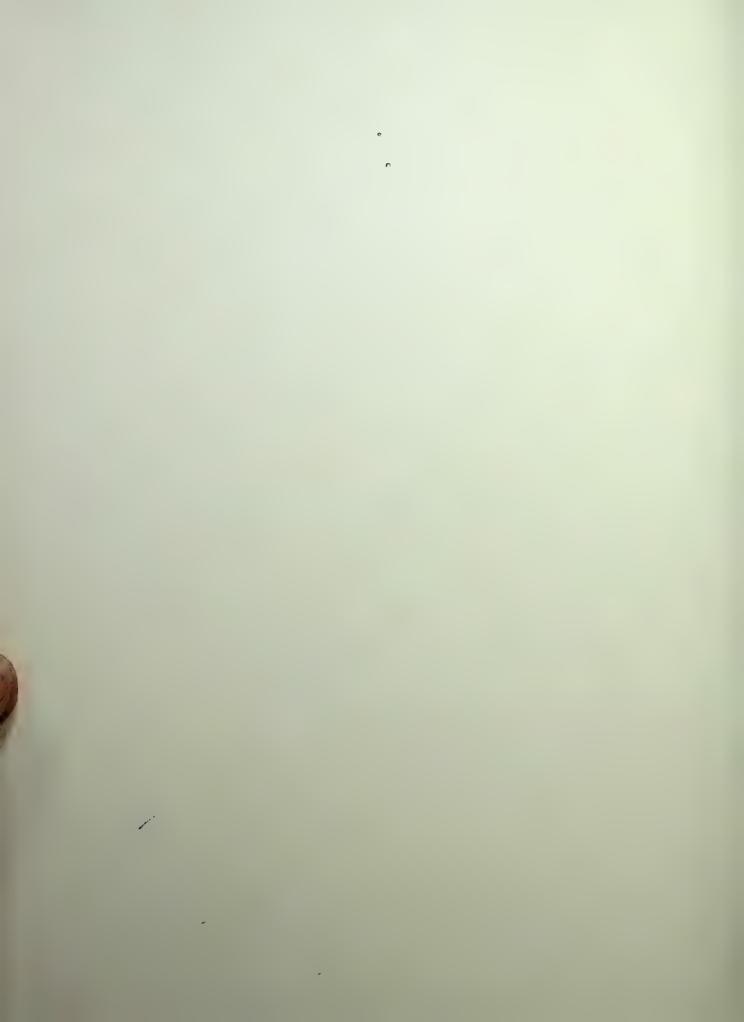
In pronouncing Chinese words, it will be sufficient to observe the following equivalents. Aspiration is indicated by an apostrophe, and aspirated letters are followed by a strong puff of breath.

```
as p in spy
          as a in father
a
                                                           as p in pie
                                                p,
ai
          as ai in aisle
                                                           as t in sty
                                                t
          as au in sauerkraut
                                                ť
                                                           as t in tie
          as e in error
e
                                                k
                                                           as k in sky
          as ei in eight
ei
                                                k'
                                                           as k in kite
          as u in rule
u
                                                ch
                                                           as j in jute
          as ou in soul
ou
                                                ch'
                                                           as ch in church
          as i in machine
                                                           as sh in ship, with slight ini-
final ih as er in corner, with the tip of
                                                              tial aspiration
             the tongue curled far back
                                                           as ts in tsetse fly
                                                 ts
                                                           as s in pleasure, with the
                                                 initial j
                                                              tongue tip curled back
```



I

Introduction

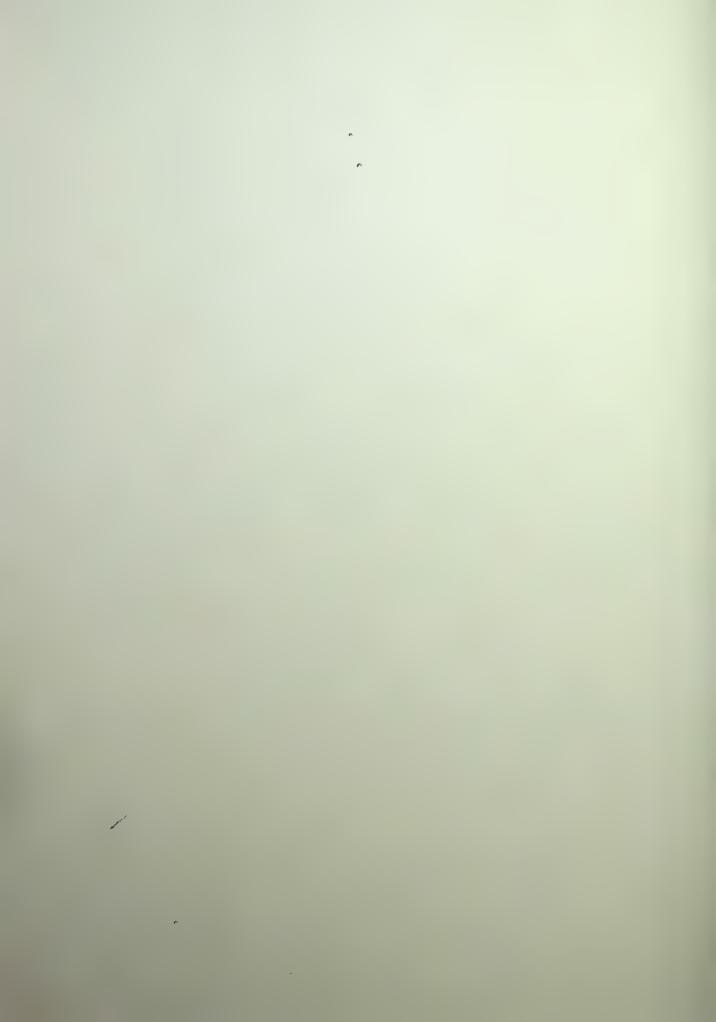


1 Preliminary

THE SYMBOLIC GESTURES called mudrā 1 may be divided, despite the multiplicity and confusion of traditions, into two general groups: mudrā in the sense of signs symbolic of the metaphysical aspect of Esoteric ceremonies; and mudrā used, particularly in iconography, to evoke a specific episode of the Buddhist legend or to identify divinities.

The gestures of the first group are "ritual"; they form an integral part of religious ceremonies. When they are made by the priest, the rapidity of their execution as well as the fact that they are often made under the stole may render them imperceptible to the eyes of those present. Under this heading belongs the greatest number of mudrā. For example, the Si-do-in-dzou,² a manual intended for the edification of the Shingon practician, lists 295: 164 for the Matrix World (taizōkai) and 131 for the Diamond World (kongōkai). But numerous repetitions both of form and of nomenclature are at once apparent.

The mudrā of the second group, the "iconographic," have multiplied greatly in sculpture and in painting, especially in the graphic representations of the cosmos called maṇḍala. For example, in the VI century of the Christian era, the Murimandarajukyō,³ probably the first sūtra to codify the formation and the use of the mudrā, does not mention more than sixteen; ⁴ yet with the passage of hardly a century, the Daranijikkyō ⁵ lists more than three hundred. Among these mudrā, many belong to what may be considered lesser divinities, and these are, consequently, of secondary importance. Only about fifteen are of sufficient interest to make a study of them particularly useful for students of Buddhist iconography.



1 Preliminary

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PRELIMINARY

These are the mudrā of the principal personages of the Buddhist pantheon. But they are also the principal mudrā of the greater part of Far Eastern art.

In sculpture, the great diversity of mudrā is reduced to a few basic gestures.⁶ Consequently, it is specifically Japanese sculpture which has been chosen as the basis of this study, for Japan is the end point in the development of the Buddhist tradition, and Japanese Buddhist art is illustrative of iconographic mutations at the extreme limit of Buddhist expansion.

It is easy to see that the study of all existing mudrā would overwhelm the scholar with a profusion of secondary details. For the identification of rare or special mudrā, then, which do not figure in the present text, reference should be made to the specialized works indicated in the notes.⁷

2 Definition of Terms

A "mudra" exists among authorities in the field of Buddhist iconography. Most of them converge toward a dominant idea contained in the original word: that of a hand pose which serves as a "seal" either to identify the various divinities or to seal, in the Esoteric sense, the spoken formulas of the rite. Coomaraswamy 1 calls the mudrā "an established and conventional sign language"; Rao,2 "hand poses adopted during meditation or exposition"; Woodward,3 "finger-signs." The translation in the Si-do-in-dzou 4 is "geste mystique"; in the Bukkyō Daijiten, "the making of diverse forms (katachi) with the fingers." Soothill 5 defines them as "manual signs indicative of various ideas." According to Getty,6 the mudra is a "mystic pose of the hand or hands." According to Eitel, "a system of magic gesticulation consisting in distorting the fingers so as to imitate ancient Sanskrit characters, of supposed magic effect." 7 The use of mudrā was introduced into Japan by Kōbō Daishi, and they are used chiefly by the Shingon sect.8 Franke 9 proposes as a translation of mudrā "Schrift (oder Lesekunst)"; Gangoly,10 "finger plays"; and last of all Beal,11 "a certain manipulation of the fingers . . . as if to supplement the power of the words."

All these opinions, inspired by the Sanskrit word, reveal a diversity that could be explained only with difficulty if the word itself did not include various meanings. The etymology of the term "mudrā," a depository of varied significations, is interesting and useful to know; one may note in this fundamental word the elemental principle which serves as a

DEFINITION OF TERMS

basis for the names of the symbolic gestures that pullulate throughout Esoteric Buddhism.

It is difficult to follow very exactly the evolution 12 of the word "mudra," the origin of which remains uncertain. Hommel would see in it a derivation from the Assyrian musarū, a seal used in writing; this word, undergoing in Old Persian the change of z to d, would show the following evolution: $musar\bar{u} = *muzr\bar{a} = mudr\bar{a}$. Such an evolution is at most hypothetical, 14 and scholarly research in this realm has remained inconclusive. Appearing first in the post-Vedic literature of India, at a very early period the word "mudra" designates the idea of a seal or the imprint left by a seal. Onto this idea have been grafted various meanings: mark (in a general sense or in the sense of a mark produced by a seal), ring (i.e., seal ring), passport, sign, and last of all "piece of money" struck by means of a seal.15 Certain modern Indian dialects 16 still keep this last meaning. In Esoteric rites, the word takes on the meaning of "way of holding the fingers," an expression which carries a special interest because it designates very precisely the ritual gesture. The Esoteric sense is not so far from the meanings just mentioned as one might be tempted to believe, for the various symbolic gestures formed by the fingers are, in a certain sense, equivalent to a kind of mystic gesture meant to guarantee the authenticity or efficacy of the rites.¹⁷ In this religious sense, the gesture had already in the Vedic period taken on an importance at once magical and ritual. It served to indicate by its vertical movement the accents of the words of the rite. 18 Here it was a question of an essentially grammatical use, which, nevertheless, presages the later development of the symbolic, iconographic gesture. Even in later times, always in close relationship to the spoken word, the gesture was enhanced with mystic and magical values.

To these definitions may be added also that of the Pāli $muddik\bar{a}$, which derives from $mudd\bar{a}$ (authority). A balanced relationship exists between the command and royal authority, between the stamped amulet and divine authority, and above all between the ritual gesture and magic

power.²⁰ A later contribution of Tantrism should also be noted: mudrā as śakti,²¹ the feminine counterpart of a god.

All of these interpretations ²² may be summarized by the following categories:

- seal (and the imprint left by a seal); whence, stamp, mark (in a general sense or the mark made by a seal), piece of money, etc.;
- 2 manner of holding the fingers; 23
- 3 counterpart (śakti) of a god.24

At first glance, the three groups would seem to be quite distinct from each other. But Przyluski points out a most interesting connecting thread which unites them. Beginning with the idea of "matrix," which he compares to a mold used for the printing or stamping of objects, he establishes a relationship between meanings 1 and 3. This is, in effect, the one which exists between the matrix of a woman in which is formed the embryo of the child she will bear, and the seal which impresses on the piece of clay its form or design. The same bond exists between the second meaning—i.e., symbolic gesture—and the other two, if one accepts that the position of the hands constitutes, to a certain extent, a mystic seal.

Among the various meanings of the word "mudrā" in Sanskrit, the idea of sign as a seal is predominant in Esoteric thought. This notion crossed the frontiers of India with the vajrayāna and spread to China and later to Japan. In effect, it was by the Chinese word yin (Sino-Jap. in), "seal," that the first translators were likely to render what seemed to them the dominant meaning of "mudrā" in the canonical writings. Thus it is that the diverse compounds designating mudrā which are frequently met with in Sino-Japanese compounds all contain the vocable in. Among the most important are shu-in, kei-in, mitsu-in, sō-in, in-gei, in-sō, and simply in. To the other hand, certain authors or translators, anxious to note the Sanskrit word more precisely than the single ideogram in would permit, used Chinese characters phonetically in an attempt to reproduce the syllables "mu-da-ra." 26 Such transliterations of the Sanskrit

word are doubtless richer in content from the technical and religious aspect than a simple translation. Yet the word "mudrā" itself had probably been drained of meaning for most non-Indian readers, and the ideogram in came largely to express the totality of the idea.

The notions expressed by the Chinese ideogram (yin) at the time Buddhism borrowed it may be traced far back in Chinese history. As early as the Shang dynasty, ideograms as probatory seals, so to speak, were impressed on bronzes. Even today, whether in art, in literature, or in daily affairs, the seal stands as testimony to the authenticity of the document to which it is put. Thus since ancient times it has played a main role, sanctioned by Chinese tradition and by usage - and likewise in Japan, where the Chinese concept was transferred. It is not surprising that a notion as deeply rooted in the native tradition 27 should have been so easily adapted to expressing the religious traits imposed on it by Esoteric Buddhism. Just as the "seal" (yin) guarantees the authenticity of documents,28 the mudrā (yin), on a mystic and religious level, eliminates any possibility of lie or of error. To make the mudra is to recognize the authenticity of the doctrine as well as the power and the efficacy of the ritual magic. The gesture is a sign, a ritual seal; seal implies authenticity, and, by analogy, the efficacy of the mudra stands in direct proportion to absence of error.29 The mudra, whose value is determined by the doctrine,30 serves to "fix" the magic of the rite. Hence the word "in" takes on the meaning of a fixed resolution,31 for it is, in fact, the gesture which makes it possible to "sign," to seal with a metaphysical cachet, the solemn "contract" of the ritual. "It is the sign of a pact, of a solemn contract which binds the officiant to the world of the divinity and which permits him to become integrated into this world." 32 Accompanying the mystic formulas (dhāraṇī), the mudrā guarantees the absence of error (assuring the right path) and the efficacy of the mystic words. All these ideas are based on ancient Indian concepts, and "too much emphasis cannot be placed on the fact that 'mudra' always implies the idea of name $(n\bar{a}ma)$ and of form $(r\bar{u}pa)$ which, according to Indian theories, are eminently productive of strength, of force, and of efficacy." 33

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The term "in" lent itself early to broad interpretation.34 Beginning with the original meaning of seal, as a sign or mark which identifies, in, in the sūtras, notably in those of Esoteric Buddhism (cf., Dainichikyō, ch. 9), refers not only to the symbolic gestures of the hands but also to the objects, the attributes, which the Buddha and the Bodhisattva hold.35 Thus, "in" designates, for example, the lotus, the sword, the stupa-in brief, all the attributes of divinity by which the original vows of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are symbolized.36 They are all, as it were, marks of divine identity; in this concept reappears the original meaning of the word "mudra." To these two meanings of "in" - gesture and symbolic attribute-may be added finally that which designates even the mystic formulas (dhāraṇī) 37 and the images of the Buddha. It is a matter then, with respect to the Sino-Japanese term, of a phenomenon of extension analogous to what has been noted for the Sanskrit term. Just as the notion of matrix is a connecting thread binding the various meanings of "mudra," the idea of sign binds the three significations of "in":

- symbolic gestures of the hands used as "seals," which guarantee the efficacy of the spoken word;
- 2 the symbolic objects, as well as the images and the statues, which are used as "marks of identity";
- 3 dhāraṇī, spoken formulas, which "seal" the magic of the rites.

3 Origins and First Representations

THE STUDENT OF ICONOGRAPHY is confronted by numerous more I or less plausible explanations of the origins of the symbolic gestures. Toganoo Shōun 1 claims that the ritual and iconographic mudrā derive from natural gestures made under certain conditions, representing for the most part homely actions, such as calming by raising the hand, offering a gift by extending the arm, and so on. Renou adds: "It is supposed, without great reason, that the mudra were inspired by the written form of the initial letter of a mantra." 2 Whatever their origin may be, in Esoteric Buddhism these gestures assume metaphysical meanings, and they multiply infinitely under the effect of Tantrism. As an iconographic symbol (Sk. pratīka), the mudrā was to come into existence at about the same time as the beginning of the Christian era. It seems to have accompanied, moreover, the appearance of the image of the Buddha.3 It was a question then of several "poses" of the hands, which were specially intended to establish the symbolic character of statues by recalling certain episodes of the Buddhist legend. First, these gestures were related only to the life of the historical Buddha; later, under Tantrism, they formed the point of departure for an evolved symbolism. With the development of Esotericism, they became endowed with clearly magico-religious values. But the question of what distant sources Buddhism had drawn upon for a system of gestures is difficult to resolve. The fact is, at the time of their entrance onto the stage of iconography, these gestures had undergone a long evolution. This is manifest in the stereotyped forms they assumed in the first Gandharan statues of India. There is no doubt

that, from a very early time, "the theory of mudrā must have covered a wide range, for the Mañjuśrīkalpa,4 the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, and the Guhyasamāja 5 presuppose the knowledge of numerous gestures." 6

According to the Indian tradition, the dance was conceived and transmitted to the people by Brahmā. In the first chapter of the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata, we read: 7 ". . . turning away from Indra, he who knows the essence of every matter, seated in Yoga posture, called to his mind the Four Vedas, thinking, 'I shall make a Fifth Veda, to be called Nāṭya (Drama), combined with epic story, tending to virtue, wealth (pleasure and spiritual freedom), yielding fame—a concise instruction setting forth all the events of the world about to be, containing the significance of every Scripture, and forwarding every art.' Thus, recalling all the Vedas, the Blessed Brahmā framed the Nāṭya Veda from the several parts of the Four Vedas,8 as desired. From the Rg Veda, he drew forth the words, from the Sāma Veda the singing, from the Yajur Veda gesture, and from the Atharva Veda the flavor."

The mention of the choreographic or dramatic gesture in this traditional literature ⁹ attests the important place of this type of symbol at an early date. But one may say even more, for since time immemorial, the dance has been a spontaneous mode by which man has expressed the magic and the mystery of the primitive rite. Undeniably, even in pre-Buddhist times, choreography had an important place in the primitive religion of India. The use of the gesture to express both religious and secular ideas must go back to some ancient source closely connected with the primitive dance, which, it would seem, furnishes the prototype of the iconographic and ritual gesture of later times.

At a very early date, dance gestures must have acquired a religious usage. They were integrated early into a ritualism which, while depriving them of their former freedom, imposed on them a hierarchy, a classification according to cult, which tended to stabilize them through centuries of visual transmission. For the needs of worship, later religions had only to adapt the choreographic gesture to their rites; the idea as well as the form of the hand movements had already existed for a long time.

ORIGINS AND FIRST REPRESENTATIONS

But the mere fact that the dance existed as early as the Vedic period offers no indication as to what point the symbolism and the form had been stylized. Moreover, the part of the dance and of dramatic art in the stylization and the transmission of the mudra is difficult to define. The mudra, which is of the domain of movement, constitutes in iconography an "active" symbol, marking, to some extent, the end point of an evolution which began with the initial idea of choreographic rhythm. These gestures which accompany the dance are an integral part of the rhythmic expression. But what is more, since they could be seen rather distinctly from afar, they constituted already in the dance a conventional method of expression which supported the word or the song. The materialization of these gestures in iconography, through the intermediary of the rites, tended to blur their former rhythmic character, and this passed necessarily onto a secondary level. Nevertheless, it remains that "the elementary hand gestures of the divinities in iconography are no more than mudrā in an undeveloped state." 10

It is hardly within the scope of this study to retrace the origins of the dance, though subsequent research may tend to clarify whatever influence choreography may have exercised in the early formation of the gestures in both the Brahmanic and Buddhist art of India. It may suffice here to remark that the form, the artistic rhythm, even the symbolism of Buddhist statues are a visual manifestation of the unquestionable bond which united iconography and the dance. These gestures, an integral part of the Indian patrimony, were adopted by Buddhism. They constituted a group of symbolic movements with a magico-mystical value which never ceased to be perceptible but which, somewhat blurred during the period of the Gandhāran sculptures, underwent a revival of importance in Tantrism, which exploited them rather than discovered them. There remains, unfortunately, no sculptural example from the early pre-Buddhist period which would enable the scholar to trace infallibly the evolution of the mudrā during those primitive times.

The preponderant function which Esoteric Buddhism bestowed upon the mudrā seems, in fact, to have been only a continuation of the "immemorial magical ritual language" (Renou) which they constitute. In the Veda, they are used to note accentuation and, in the schools of the grammarians, the rhythm of words. In Vedic Sanskrit, the fingers are assigned definite roles: for example, the thumb, by virtue of its form, which resembles the lingam, represents Bhairava, the redoubtable aspect of Siva; the middle finger represents Caṇḍikā, the violent aspect of Durgā. For the enrichment of the mudrā, at least, Brahmanism served as a convenient and permanent treasure house to the needs of Buddhist iconography. Buddhism, inheriting the mudrā, bestowed upon them new and mystical meanings according to its own genius. In the schools of the grammarians, the redoubtable aspect of Siva; the middle finger represents Caṇḍikā, the violent aspect of Durgā. In the enrichment of the mudrā, at least, Brahmanism as even as a convenient and permanent treasure house to the needs of Buddhist iconography. Buddhism, inheriting the mudrā, bestowed upon them new and mystical meanings according to its own genius.

A well-known jātaka of the V century attests the use of mudrā in the earlier lives of the Buddha. "Sākyamuni met a woman whom he considered taking for wife: not knowing, however, whether she was unmarried, he resolved to ask her at once 'by a gesture of his hand' (hat-thamoddāya in Pāli). If she is educated, he thought to himself, she will understand and answer me. Thus he raised his closed fist, and the woman, in order to answer, showed him her empty hand." There is no doubt, remarks Auboyer, that the Bodhisattva was already practicing an established usage, the conventional modalities of which were well known at the time of the composition of the jātaka.¹⁵

Generally, the origins of Indian sculpture are assigned to the III century B.C. It was at this time, in Mathurā, that Indian iconography had its beginning. Thenceforward, the cult element became more and more important. It is well to remember that the representation of the historical Buddha in human form first took place about the II century of the Christian era. Until then, the Buddha had been represented by symbols, such as the wheel of the Law, the throne, the pillar, or the tree; ¹⁶ the omission of the Buddha image itself was imperative, ¹⁷ proscribed as it is in several passages of the Buddhist canon. ¹⁸

As soon as the need of a representation was felt, the "image" was developed in two places: Gandhāra, in northwest India, and Mathurā, on the banks of the Jumna River. In the heart of the Kuṣāṇa empire, Gandhāra, the statues representing the Buddha were executed by men

who were the inheritors of the anthropomorphic ideal of the Greeks and Romans. 19 From this leaven resulted images of the Buddha which recall the Hellenistic type of Apollo the Orator that ultimately inspired it. This initial Greco-Roman influence was of profound consequence. Indeed, the statues produced by the Gandhāran school drew their inspiration from both Greco-Roman and Indian sources. From the first the Gandhāran school borrowed the human form, from the second the complex symbolism which, even at the beginning of the Christian era, existed in India. So it was that the Buddhist art of Gandhāra found itself playing an intermediary role between Greece and India on the one hand and the whole Far East on the other: the sculptural mudrā were adopted by Buddhism and propagated across Asia along with the expansion of this religion.

Gandharan iconography was born of an extremely involved metaphysical system. The Buddhist image of these northwest regions developed in a direction situated halfway between Greek art, which was in the "margin of realism," and Indian naturalism. Despite the Greek influence, Indian naturalism predominated; and the statues of the historical Buddha, consequently, even though taking the form of a man, were never intended to represent an anatomical unit capable of functioning. Thus, at the very beginning, Buddhist sculpture draws on a group of symbols long established according to a conventional stylization.20 The head, for example, takes the form of the perfect oval of the egg; the eyebrows, that of the curve of the Indian bow; the eyes, that of the lotus bud; the ear, that of the graphic form of a certain Sanskrit character; and the neck, with its three folds, that of the conch shell. The wide breast and narrow waist are taken from the body of the lion, on which is superposed the head of the bull; the arm is the elephant's trunk; the hands, lotus petals, etc.21 The symbol in Buddhist statues and other images is not an "afterthought" intended to add to the meaning of the work, but an integral part of the representation. Thus, while the Greeks in representing their divinities tried to bring to perfection the anthropomorphic ideal, the Indians in representing the Buddha conceived purely intellectual creations. This accentuation of the symbolic aspect of images was naturally to favor the development of iconographic signs as symbols.

In the early times (that is, in Gandhara) of the utilization of the mudra in Buddhist art, no definite prescription seems to have established the precise value of the symbolic gestures. 22 Rules developed little by little, especially toward the middle of the first millennium of the Christian era. With the birth of the vajrayana (Esotericism), the mudra were subjected to formalization and impregnated with a symbolism at once metaphysical and magical. It is not surprising then that the few mudra which figure in the Greco-Buddhist art of northwest India have a multiple utility. For example, a single mudra, the semui-in (abhayamudra), may be used for the receiving of gifts or homage, the expression of welcome, the subjugating of the elephant, the Predication of the Doctrine, and even the turning of the wheel of the Law.23 The different roles of the personages performing this gesture are made perfectly clear either by attributes e.g., the wheel and the gazelles indicate the Predication of the Law-or by the presence of the gesture within a specific symbolic framework. On the other hand, if one gesture alone may play several different roles, a specific episode of the Buddhist legend may be symbolized by several mudrā. In order to represent the Predication of the Law,²⁴ for example, the Gandharan Buddha may form very different symbolic gestures: the jo-in, which was to represent later the entrance of the Buddha into profound meditation; the semui-in, mudra of the Gift of Intrepidity; even the seppō-in (tembōrin-in), which alone would indicate, when the use of the mudrā was more definitely established, the act of preaching or disseminating the Law.

TII

[XI, XII

Nevertheless, in Gandhāran art, one may already notice the habit of assigning certain mudrā to certain personages, doubtless in order to differentiate among the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: these mudrā later became each the characteristic attribute of such and such a one among them. With time, usage became more exact, for the plethora of Esoteric divinities required a more precise means of identification than was provided by the comparatively few Gandhāran mudrā. The semui-in finally limited itself to representing the absence of fear; the segan-in, charity; the tembōrin-in, the Predication of the Doctrine, etc. In Gandhāra, however, Buddhist sculpture did not seem to have come out of what Foucher

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calls "la période flottante" which characterized the origins of Buddhist iconography.

The uncertainty of Gandhāran usage, however, was rapidly to give way to the codification imposed by the genius of Esotericism. Consequently, the Tantric school, which presides over the modifications of the gestures, or better, over their expansion, plays a central part in the evolution of the mudrā.

4 The Contribution of Tantrism

T THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, the role of the A mudrā in Buddhist symbolism derives from traditional Buddhism, but it is to Tantrism 1 that it owes a fuller development. Probably toward the middle of the first millennium A.D., the Yogācāra master Asanga (Sino-Jap. Mujaku: c. 350) had already conceived a mystic doctrine founded at once on Yoga practices and on the principal ideas of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This doctrine was elaborated in a vast body of religious texts known generically as tantra. They were largely devoted to the exaltation of the Goddess. And along with a number of lateral teachings, both philosophic and cosmogonic, they contained numerous elements (dhāranī, mudrā, etc.) which were in large part secret and were practices intended to assure the identification of the faithful with the Supreme Unity.2 This type of belief, appearing in the IV century and reaching its apogee in the VIII, evolved in two main currents, which are known as Left-handed and Right-handed Tantrism. Left-handed Tantrism, to which the term vajrayāna is usually applied, postulates feminine counterparts of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other divinities, places emphasis on these "Savioresses," or Taras, as they are called. They are believed to represent, among other things, the active aspect of their masculine counterpart. The unification of the pair is symbolized by the sexual act. Right-handed Tantrism, on the other hand, emphasizes devotion to masculine divinities; and, although great importance is attached to magical practices, this branch of Tantrism has largely avoided the extremism in act and symbol characteristic of the Left-handed type.

Right-handed Tantrism spread to China, and then on to Japan, where today it is alive in the form of the Shingon school. It is particularly to the Right-handed branch that the word "Esoteric" refers in the following pages. This style of Buddhism, which places great importance on magic formulas, is sometimes known in Sanskrit as the Mantrayāna. At the earliest stage of Tantrism, the mudrā, going beyond its simple role of a sign evocative of the Buddhist legend (as in Gandhāra), possessed powers at once mystical and magical. Esotericism did not limit itself to making the gestures a metaphysical symbol but, by allotting them a very important place in the cult, it saw in the mudrā the active bond by which the dhāraṇī and the mantra (mystic formulas) might permit the worshiper to identify with the Supreme Unity.

The sage Vajrasattva (Sino-Jap. Kongōsatta), dwelt in an iron tower in the south of India. According to the Sino-Japanese tradition, it was to him that Vairocana himself transmitted the secret doctrine of the Esoteric school. In the venerable line of patriarch-transmitters of the Law, it was Vajrasattva who must have taught the maṇḍala of the two parts (kongōkai and taizōkai) to Nāgārjuna (Sino-Jap. Ryūju; II century A.D.), who, in his turn, is said to have transmitted it to his disciple Nāgabodhi. Nāgabodhi passed the doctrine on to Vajrabodhi (Kongōchi), who taught it to Amoghavajra (Fukū), the founder of the Esoteric sect (mi-tsung) in China.

In 719,3 Vajrabodhi, accompanied by his disciple Amoghavajra,4 traveled to China, and there introduced the Esoteric system. At the beginning of the IX century, the Buddhist monk Kūkai ⁵ (Kōbō Daishi) left Japan in order to study the doctrine under the great Chinese master, Hui-kuo ⁶ (Kei-ka Ajari), a disciple of Amoghavajra. Upon returning to Japan in 806, Kūkai founded the Shingon sect; and in 816, he established its seat on the wooded summit of Mount Kōya, not far from present-day Osaka. Thus the Esoteric school, grafted onto Mahāyāna Buddhism in the IV century under the inspiration of Asaṅga, spread in less than four centuries over the greater part of Far Eastern Asia, culminating in Japan, where it is still an active sect.⁷

The Tantric Vehicle, assuming organized form in India about A.D. 600, drew upon the metaphysics of the Greater Vehicle; it accentuated the syncretistic tendencies. The basic idea of Esoteric Buddhism, upon which rests the magico-symbolic superstructure, is the concept of the Three Mysteries: 8 thought, word, and act. They represent three ways of approaching the ONE and are three inseparable aspects of the Great Unity. Equivalent each to the other, they are united in every phenomenon of the ordinary world. The doctrine of the Three Mysteries "maintains that thought, word, and activity are only different expressions for one and the same reality, for in the great Oneness reigns equality and identity 'in the same way that the ocean has everywhere the same salty taste.' The doctrine of the fundamental unity (samata) of the three actions is a dogma essential to Esotericism, for it alone permits one to consider as equivalent, or even as identical, meditative imaginations, mystical formulas, and exterior, material things; such is the condition required for all practical activity of a magical nature." 9 The mudra, thanks to this triple unity, were endowed with an importance equal to the True Word: they were checks, guarantees of transmission. Three-in-One, All-One, equivalence of the Three Mysteries and consequently of all reality-these are the very essence of the Tantric teaching.

It was toward the VII century that the religious books known as tantra ¹⁰ made their appearance. They are manuals, ¹¹ so to speak, which concern themselves with the accomplishment of the rites, with the establishment of the maṇḍala, and with the elaboration of statues. In a certain sense, they are actual iconographic collections. The tantras may be considered sacred writings, but because of the essentially practical goal of the rites, their metaphysical and literary content is probably not so lofty as that of the sūtras. "The prescriptions," Glasenapp has written, "to which they subject each one of the rites considered in all its detail are made to relate to a metaphysical view of things. The basis of any ceremony to be performed is a general world concept, related to magic, and developing the fundamental idea which requires that all the phenomena of the cosmos depend as closely as possible on each other: mysterious bonds

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TANTRISM

then connect each word, each action, and even each thought to the eternal basis of the universe." ¹² This opens up the limitless vistas, in the domain of the mystic, that such a unity implies. The gesture is no longer a simple act: it contains the essence of the Three Mysteries, and this fact alone inspires it with an infinite mysticism.

The mudra, thanks to this triple unity, were accorded an importance equal to that of the word (dhāraṇī). Their metaphysical value was compounded of a primitive magic, which reached far back into pre-Buddhist times.13 This magic stems from a stratum of occult beliefs in prehistoric India. As early as the Vedic period, despite the condemnation of the high cult, magic of an official nature existed, and charms could be wrought by a slight modification of or addition to the ordinary ritual.14 The mantra was used at once to bless and to curse.15 The preventive processes (silence, retreat, etc.) and positive remedies (ablution, lavage) were used to banish evil influences (santi); 16 anointing and food offerings were used to attract useful forces.17 In execration and in the sermon (sapatha),18 the use of the formula, reinforced by invocation and emphasizing "truth," was already pre-eminent. The formula was to reappear in Tantric Buddhism, where its use is similar and certainly of no less importance. Even the practices of meditation go back to pre-Buddhist antecedents. "The Vaikhānasadharmasūtra gives details on yogi adepts, attesting that the Vedic tradition was progressively infused with ascetic practices; born of a prehistoric stratum and nourished by speculation, they were to flower with the theory of the āśrama (§768)." 19

This old magic exerted its influence in Tantrism: ²⁰ noxious magic (expulsion, the causing of death), unction, ²¹ ritual impurity ²² (death, birth), even medical magic ²³ were all practices which, originating in ancient India, reappeared in Esoteric Buddhism. ²⁴

"The magical act depends in large measure on a transference or on a symbolic representation." ²⁵ It follows that mudrā, words, and thoughts of the Three Mysteries assume in Tantrism metaphysical and even magic values. Certain students see in these tendencies a degeneration of early Buddhism. The exaggerated formalization of Esotericism seems indeed

to justify this point of view. It is, in fact, undeniable that certain aspects of Tantrism permitted the development of rather grotesque magical rites: but it must be added that such practices appear quite as fantastic to the traditional Buddhist as to the Western spectator. Tantrism was nevertheless able, from many points of view, to avoid a total deterioration: in support of its metaphysics, it even brought new expressions, especially of an artistic nature. It was actually this essential dogma of the equivalence of word, act, and thought that was responsible for raising Esoteric art to a place of undisputed importance in the religious system. This unitary concept leads to a close interdependence 26 by which artistic forms become the image of the Tantric doctrine: the statue is henceforth the concrete manifestation of concepts related to the energies existing in the order of things. Thus does art occupy an important place in the rites and in iconography. It manifests, moreover, in Buddhist countries situated beyond the frontiers of India, a most fruitful inspiration. This artistic expression should be sufficient in itself to spare Tantrism the injustice of summary condemnation.

The "word" of the Three Mysteries is represented by the magical formulas.²⁷ They are prescribed in the sūtras in which are outlined the bases of Tantric magic. It is noted, for example, in chapter XXI of the Lotus of the Good Law:

"Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaiṣajyarāja rose from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder and fixed the right knee upon the ground, lifted his joined hands up to the Lord. . . .

"Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaiṣajyarāja immediately said to the Lord: To those young men or young ladies of good family, O Lord, who keep this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law in their memory or in a book, we will give talismanic words for guard, defense, and protection; such as, anye manye mane mamane citte carite same, samitāvi, sānte, mukte, muktatame, same aviṣame, samasame, jaye, kṣaye, akṣīṇe, sānte sanī, dhāraṇi ālokabhāṣe, pratyavekṣaṇi, nidhini, abhyantaravisiṣṭe, utkule mutkule, asaḍe, paraḍe, sukāṅkṣī, asamasame, buddhavilokite, dharmaparīkṣite, saṅghanirghoṣaṇi, nirghoṣaṇī bha-

yābhayasodhanī, mantre mantrākṣayate, rutakauśalye, akṣaye, akṣavanatāya, vakulevaloḍa, amanyatāya. These words of charms and spells, O Lord, have been pronounced by reverend Buddhas (in number) equal to the sands of sixty-two Ganges rivers. All these Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers, such keepers of the Sūtrānta.

"The Lord expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaiṣajyarāja by saying: Very well, Bhaiṣajyarāja, by those talismanic words being pronounced out of compassion for creatures, the common weal of creatures is promoted; their guard, defense, and protection is secured.

"Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Pradānaśūra said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will, for the benefit of such preachers, give them talismanic words, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise such preachers may find the occasion, be it a demon, giant, goblin, sorcerer, imp or ghost; that none of these when seeking and spying for an occasion to surprise may find the occasion." ²⁸

The abundance of such passages in the sūtra indicates the importance accorded the magical formulas. Tantrism lost no time in developing them. The dhāraṇī 29 pullulated. They are texts, generally short, often simply a group of mystic syllables, employed primarily for the purpose of meditation or of magical action or serving as "supports" for meditation. By their use, one may supposedly succeed in practicing a specific magic or, on the metaphysical plane, in identifying oneself mystically with the supreme divinity. At the end of the dhāraṇī is generally found a short explanation of the goal of the prayer. These formulas lent themselves to the most diverse uses, such as causing rain, halting epidemics, etc.

At the beginning, end, and sometimes in the middle of a dhāraṇī occurs a mantra, 30 a sequence of mystic syllables most often without literal meaning. The phenomenon of the mantra and the extreme importance which it assumed in the Indian sphere, notably in Tibet, are characteristic of the evolution of Tantrism. By means of the vibrations which the resonance of the mantric syllables creates in the body, the mantra is capable of

producing certain states of consciousness, which lead, on an extra-corporeal plane, to a religious experience. The mantras constitute objects ("supports") of meditation for the Conscience. Consciousness of them comes during meditation on them by the development of the "seeds" $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$ which they contain. It is a question here of the aspect of Unity which exists between word and thought: the mudrā becomes, therefore, a symbolic act identified with and representing both.

A Tibetan mantra well known in the West may serve as a model. It is six syllables, "om mani padme hūm" (Ah! The jewel is in the lotus). According to Getty, this formula can penetrate the Six Regions of Beings and preside over the final liberation from the Wheel of Life—that is, from the eternal cycle of birth and rebirth. Sometimes syllables without meaning are used with a word of precise import, such as "om Aksobhya hūm." Are vom ani padme hūm," for example—is identified with a color: om white, ma blue, ni yellow, pad green, me red, hūm black. The fingers, in their turn, are identified with colors and syllables and are closely allied with symbolic sounds: 33 they are endowed by this identification with magical forces and divine qualities.

The mantra om contains in itself all the others. It is composed of three phonemes, a, u, m, plus the dot (bindu) that marks the nasal resonance. It is identified with the brahman, the Veda, the yoga Iśvara, and later with the $trim\bar{u}rti$ (a being Viṣṇu, u Siva, and m Brahmā).

Tantrism developed among other usages that of the shuji (Sk. $b\bar{\imath}ja$) or germ syllable, 35 which ends generally with m (on the example of om). These syllables replace a mantra, a word, a symbolic object, and "every divinity, or better, each aspect of a divinity has its $b\bar{\imath}ja$ " (Renou). The $b\bar{\imath}ja$ is imposed $(ny\bar{a}sa)$ 36 on the body of the faithful "by means of the ends of the fingers, and with the accompaniment of the recitation of the $b\bar{\imath}ja$ in question" (Renou). The body is thereby "impregnated with the energies and essences contained in the germ syllable." Thus it is that the hands supervise the exact transmission of the thought expressed by

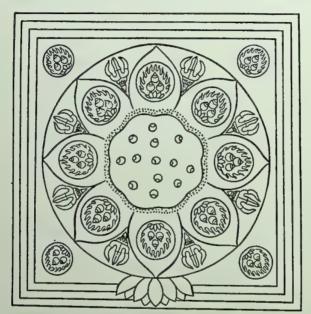


1 The Germ Syllable A

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the word. The word is the vehicle of the ideas: the gestures are the vehicle of the forms.

The dhāraṇī and the mantra belong to the domain of the "word"; in art (painting and sculpture), the visual aspect of this "word" is set forth in several ways. In painting, one of the characteristic forms is the mandara (Sk. maṇḍala), 37 a geometric disposition of symbolic attributes, germ syllables, or images endowed with magic power. It is the point of departure for a system of specific meditation, which aims at assuring



2 Maṇḍala

the ultimate, mystic union with the Supreme Unity (in Japan, Dainichi Nyorai; Sk. Vairocana). The mandara corresponds, for the initiate, to the complex symbols of an integration for the mathematician (Maraini). It can assume a number of forms according to the use for which it is intended: in rites, it may be traced on the ground, used at a specific moment, and then erased. The best-known form is the one which is permanently fixed on paper, silk, linen, etc. and is meant to be used as the object of successive meditations. The use of the mandala is to be particularly noted in Tibet and in Japan. Japanese mandara are regarded highly from the ritual point of view and are often of considerable artistic quality. They exhibit most often Buddha or Bodhisattva images, Sanskrit signs, or symbolic attributes. These last two are supposed to

possess a magical power as effective, in this instance, as that of the Buddha image. This power may be explained by the system of equivalences in the Esoteric dogma, where Buddha and symbolic sign are identical. But there are other kinds of cosmic representation. Actually, in Esoteric Buddhism the hands become a mandara. Thus, Auboyer writes, concerning the hastapūjāvidhi, the rite of the offering on the hand:

"The devotee is able to reconstruct on his left hand a mandala of three concentric zones. The outer circle is formed by the fingers, on which the devotee evokes successively the five elements with their feminine manifestations: on the thumb, earth and Pātanī; on the index, water and Māraṇī; on the middle finger, fire and Akarṣaṇī; on the annulary, air and Nartteśvarī; on the auricular, ether and Padmajālinī. The middle circle is formed by the nails, on which the devotee evokes the five jina or spiritual Buddhas, their colors, and their respective sacred syllables: on the thumb, Amoghasiddhi, white, om hah nāmah; on the index finger, Vairocana, yellow, hi svāha; on the middle finger, Amitābha, red, hum vauṣat; on the ring finger, Aksobhya, black, he hum hum hoh; on the little finger, Ratnasambhava, green, phat ham. Last of all, the inside circle is drawn on the palm in the form of a red lotus with five petals. The devotee begins his evocation by the eastern petal, and turns through those of the north, the west, and the south, situating successively in them the five goddesses: Yāminī, black, hām yom; Mōhanī, white, hrīm mom; Sañcālinī, yellow, hrem hrīm; Santrāsinī, green, ngam ngam; and Chandikā, gray, phat phat. The end is at last realized in the pericarp of the lotus, which contains the germ of the mandara, figured by the goddess Vajravārāhī (red, om vam)." 40

The object of the Esoteric system is the psychic union of the faithful with the Universal Spirit.⁴¹ But in order to arrive at this final union, it is not sufficient to pronounce the magical formulas of the dhāraṇī and the mantra, to meditate on the mandara or the statues of the Buddha; it is necessary also to make the explicitly correct mudrā. This primitive gesture of the exorcist assumes a great importance in assuring the exact transmission of the words. Words and thought are closely connected, and

likewise sound and gesture; the gesture expresses visually "the activity of the body" and the mystery of the word. It is thus that the mudrā in its ritual form takes on the value of a seal: "it is the sign of a pact, of a most solemn contract, for it is the one that binds the worshiper to the world of the divinity, and integrates him into that world." 42

This idea of contract is reflected in the Japanese word kei-in: kei. "contract," in, "sealed" by the worshiper, who, by reciting the ritual words and by executing the correct mudra, strives to unite himself with the divinity. Thus the expression kei-shin means "to make a pact with a spirit." Kei serves also to designate the little carved notches which constituted a form of writing in ancient China. These notches were "signs," and the meaning of the character kei in this way may be seen to have a relationship to the meaning of "in." In like manner, the bond which exists between the symbolic attribute and the magical sound is brought out in the expression immyo 43 or ichi-in ni-myo, "one in and two myō": here in stands for symbolic attribute, myō, mystic syllable or dhāraṇī. In this expression the symbolic attribute is the pagoda (stūpa), the ("Convention Form") attribute of both kongōkai and taizōkai Dainichi. Besides the pagoda, two different germ syllables (myō) correspond to the two Dainichi; hence the expression "two myō." In the phrase "in wo musubu," one "binds" (musubu) a mudrā (in), which, in its turn, "forms a pact" (musubu) between the worshiper and the supreme divinity. The term "inkan suru" expresses the act of "making a mudra" and at the same time "realizing" through contemplation the (statue or image of a) Buddha. In (mudrā) corresponds to the "body" [act] of the Three Mysteries and is a visible form, while kan (meditate on) symbolizes the "thought" of the threefold Esoteric concept. While contemplating (kan), the Buddha (or any other divinity) is "realized" by an abstract psychic identification, the whole process being symbolized concretely by the hand gesture, which assures the union of the believer and the divinity.

Because the mudrā establishes a bond between the adept and the divinity, the gesture becomes the symbol in Esoteric Buddhism of the

"World of the Buddha": ⁴⁴ that is, "the World of Essence" (hokkai, Sk. dharmadhātu) of which it constitutes the visual representation. This world of the Buddha is attained as much by the gesture as by meditation on the symbolic attributes. ⁴⁵ Inasmuch as it symbolizes the hokkai, the mudrā becomes the symbol of the Buddha.

The Shingon rite aims, by means of dhāraṇī and mantra, accompanied by mudrā, to unite the worshiper with the Supreme Spirit. It is complemented by a system of meditation peculiar to Tantrism, in which powers are transmitted from the object of meditation to the person meditating. Certain ways of breathing produce a state of consciousness which permit the worshiper to withdraw himself from the sensations of this world and to unite himself thus with the One. It is a state where there is neither thought nor annihilation of thought, a state consisting of the Six Happinesses of the body and of the mind, from which the adept (yogī) obtains supernatural magical powers.⁴⁶

The complete series of ritual mudrā should, by an action on the nervous system, produce certain effects of both a psychological and a physiological kind. The mudrā "composed of certain groupings of movements and of gestures are traditionally based on the results of physiological phenomena: fear, joy, modesty. . . . Thus it is that the gesture attains its most abstract subtlety. It is the science of the hidden meaning of exterior appearances, the fluid formation—but exactly defined by concrete poses—of a traditional, mental image, which one must project on the sensibility of the spectator, who in turn will react according to a traditional pattern. It is a series of suggestions linked by the sequence of the gesture, provoking in the mind of the spectator a subjective reaction." Though Auboyer is speaking primarily of choreographic gestures, these observations are generally valid for the iconographic mudrā as well.

5 Rites

Rites began to assume an important role in Esoteric Buddhism as the magic concepts developed. The ritual basis was furnished by traditional Buddhism, for "all the formulas and all the ceremonies are reputed to be no more than the visible expression of thoughts seized and held through the power of concentration." The tantra show excessive preoccupation with ritual detail—with the acts and words, mystical and magic, which are believed to lead one toward the ultimate attainment of occult powers. The material of this preoccupation was most particularly the use of the dhāraṇī, the mantra, and the maṇḍala as well as the meaning of the mudrā. Thus the rite strives to bring all the senses into a participation in the religious act and so to facilitate higher meditation; but it is none the less true that ritual questions predominate at the expense of speculation and that Esotericism was imbued with a veritable anxiety of detail, which seems at times devoid of a more profound metaphysical impulse.

Certain of these rites, clearly of Indian origin, were celebrated in Japan at a relatively early time. De Visser describes the Tantric ceremony of the Ninnō rite,³ which must have been performed in Japan as early as the VII century. The priest seats himself in padmāsana: ⁴ that is, his legs crossed, the soles of the feet upward. Before officiating he is supposed to bathe himself, or at least to anoint his hands, with perfumed water and incense and to wipe them on his stole. Then, his heart full of devotion, he makes the mudrā of purity.⁵ Holding his two hands in front of his heart, empty of passions, he joins his palms.⁶ He scatters lotus

flowers and recites three times the tantra (given in the Ninnōkyō text). Whereupon he makes these correct mudrā: 7

- Convention (sammaya) mudrā of the Buddha section. Here "Convention" is the original vow of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva to save Sentient Beings from the errors of the Six Senses.
- 2 Convention mudrā of the Bodhisattva section. The priest who uses this mudrā is pure in the three actions (body [act], word, thought) and exempt from all calamities.
- 8 Convention mudrā of the Vajra section. 10 By this mudrā the priest is endowed with the strength of the Vajra.
- 4 Mudrā for the protection of the body.11
- 5 Mudrā for the suppressing and warding off (of evil influences).12
- 6 Mudrā which invites all the saints to descend upon the altar. 13
- 7 Mudrā for offering perfumed water to the saints.14
- 8 Mudrā for offering precious seats to the saints.15
- 9 Mudrā of universal offering (to the saints).16
- Original mudrā of the *Prajīā-pāramitā*.¹⁷ Placing his hands over his heart, the priest reads seven times the *dhāraṇī* mentioned in the sūtra. Whereupon he is transformed and perfected.

In the same manner, mudrā of other rites, such as those of the Mysterious Laws ¹⁸ and those celebrated before the *taizōkai mandara*, ¹⁹ are noted in explicit fashion. This exactness is not without importance, for all the magic and the efficacy of the rite depend on it. The results of a correctly performed rite are varied: the power of the symbolic gesture is such that the ordinary man may succeed in "commanding demons," ²⁰ in avoiding calamities, in endowing himself with a whole range of powers, and finally in identifying himself with the universal Unity.

More and more concentrated on magico-religious means of salvation, Esotericism took on a complexity which, compounded in great part of a primitive magic, appears rather extravagant in view of the metaphysical flights of so-called traditional Buddhism. The Tantric impetus is expressed by sequences of sometimes incomprehensible syllables, a complex ceremonial, and an art, although vital, profoundly subjected to traditionalist controls. Tibet, which is particularly faithful in respect to Buddhist iconography as it has been transmitted from India, presents one of the culminations of the tendencies inherent in Esotericism. In this country Tantrism keeps its sense of the mysterious and of the great propositions of earlier Buddhism, but it finds itself caught up in a complexity of exorcistic rites of rather primitive inspiration. In all countries where Tantrism became implanted, however, its iconography expressed the mystic aspect of the rites—sometimes fantastic, as in Tibet, sometimes peaceful, as in Japan. And it may be said truthfully that Esotericism, despite its complexity and excessive hierarchization, has manifested always a highly organized artistic sense which has been able to complete very happily the profound feeling for mystery that is the essence of its doctrine.

In Esotericism the earlier role of the mudrā as a device to indicate the episodes of the Buddha legend passed onto a secondary plane. To take its place, a new symbolism of the hands arose, based on a combination of magico-religious ideas and complemented by features borrowed from other philosophical systems. The hand became a sort of universe in miniature, representing a complete cosmogonic system, with its own particular vocabulary. The "wings" (hands) represent the sun (right) and the moon (left),21 intelligence and meditation.22 The fingers are called the Ten Degrees, the Ten Wheels, the Ten Lotuses, the Ten Worlds of the Law, the Ten Shinnyo (Tathatā), the Ten Summits.23 They are arbitrarily associated not only with the Five Elements and the Ten Degrees, but also with magic signs (Sanskrit and Chinese). The combination of ideas that the fingers represent is very complex. A passage from the Fudarakukaieki 24 will serve to give some idea of the Esoteric meaning that Tantric literature attributes to the hands.

"The left hand is Appeasement $(jakuj\bar{o}, 'elimination of obstacles')$ and is called Principle (ri, 'ideal'): this is the Matrix World. The right hand discerns diverse things and is called Knowledge (chi): this is the Diamond World. The five fingers of the left hand represent the Five

Knowledges (go chi) of the Matrix World: the five fingers of the right hand represent the Five Knowledges of the Diamond World.

"The left hand is Concentration $(j\bar{o})$: the right hand is Wisdom (e). The ten fingers are the Ten Stages $(j\bar{u}do)$. They are called the Ten Worlds of Essence (hokkai) or the Ten Thusnesses (shinnyo). By reduction, (all) this comes to the One: by extension, there are many names. The left little finger is Charity (dan); the ring finger, Discipline (kai); the middle finger, Patience (nin); the index, Energy (shin); the thumb, Contemplation (zen). The right little finger represents Wisdom (e); the ring finger, Means $(h\bar{o})$; the middle finger, Vow (gan); the index, Power (riki); the thumb, Knowledge (chi).

"The little finger represents earth; the ring finger, water; the middle finger, fire; the index, air; and the thumb, void."

According to this text, we can draw up a table of the relationships of the fingers and their symbolism.²⁵ Here may be seen in a schematic way the whole of the meanings devolving on the hands as well as details concerning the symbolism of each mudrā. The simple joining of the two hands into mudrā, which will be treated in the remainder of this study, should consequently be related to the symbolism of the fingers as set forth in our table. Each mudrā is affected, then, by the details of the symbolism pertaining to the fingers, and it should be noted that in the following study these details are not repeated with the consideration of each different gesture.

To summarize briefly: It is certain that the ritual gesture we know as the mudrā existed even before the organization of Buddhism into a religious system. Its use in the Veda is attested, while its presence in the magical rites of primitive Buddhism is undeniable. The appearance of mudrā in Tantrism constitutes, we may say, a sort of renaissance of the earlier gestures, probably blurred during the first centuries A.D. Nevertheless, it is probable that the mudrā was used in uncodified rites as early as that period, though the question of its exact ritual value is at present unsolved. It is, consequently, impossible to evaluate the influence that the ritual gesture was able to exercise on early iconography. For India,

[Diag. I



Left Hand

Right Hand 1

								Might H	lana *	
THUMB Discern- ment	Oper- ation	MIDDLE Per- ception	RING Recep- tion	LITTLE Form	The Five Aggregates 2		Recep-	MIDDLE Per- ception 5	INDEX Operation 8	THUMB Discern- ment 7
Konrin	Byakusan		Shajo	Shō	The Five Bodhisattvas 8	Shō 9	Shajo 10	Kōju 11	Bya- kusan ¹²	Konrin 18
Wisdom	Visionary Medi- tation	Memory	Energy	Faith	The Five Roots 14	Faith 14	Energy 16	Mem-	Visionary Medi- tation 18	Wis- dom ¹⁹
Knowl- edge ²⁵	Power 24	Vow 23	Means 22	Wisdom 21	The Ten Virtues 20	Char- ity ²⁶	Pre- cepts 27	Pa- tience ²⁸	Effort 29	Contem- plation 30
Void	Air	Fire -	Water	Earth	The Five Elements	Earth	Water	Fire	Air	Void
Dainichi	Ashuku	Hōshō	Amida	Shaka	The Five Buddhas ³¹	Shaka	Amida	Hōshō	Ashuku	Dainichi
Human Beings	Asura #	Añimals	Preta **	Hells	The Ten Essence Worlds 34	Gods	Šrā- vaka ²⁵	Pratyeka Buddhas 35	Bodhi- sattvas	Buddhas

I The right hand represents the world of the Buddhas, the Diamond World (kongōkai); the left hand, the world of Sentient Beings, the Matrix World (taizōkai). According to Mochizuki, BD, p. 177, the hands symbolize the following:

Left Hand	Right Hand
Moon	Sun, standing for the mirror, represents the Four Transcendental Knowledges: 1) the Mirror Knowledge, 2) the Knowledge of Equality, 3) the Knowledge of Profound Insight, 4) The Knowledge of Perfection. It also represents the pinacle of supernatural faculties.
Arresting the active mind Intent Contemplation	Observation
(samādhi)	Wisdom
Blessedness	Knowledge
Principle	Reason
Temporal Reality	Ultimate Reality
Following	Offering
Inner	Outer
Samaya	Prajñā
Memory of Affection	Memory of Compassion

- 2 Sk. pañcaskandha: Filliozat (personal communication) translates skandha as "grosses ramifications d'un tronc, membres, ensembles," which he considers better than Aggregates. The aggregates are, in this instance, the constituents of an intelligent Being.
- 3 Sk. rūpa: the physical form as opposed to the organs of the senses; the smallest particle of matter having resistance (Soothill). Forme; sensible (Filliozat); form (Eitel); forme (Hō.).
- 4 Sk. vedanā: reception, sensation, sensibility; the function of the mind or the senses in affairs or in things (Soothill); sensations (Filliozat); impression (Hō.).
- 5 Sk. samjñā: connotation, conception (Hō.); function of the mind in distinguishing (Soothill); perceptions (Filliozat); consciousness (Eitel).
- 6 Sk. samskara: complexes du psychisme (Filliozat); the functioning of the mind in its proc-

esses regarding like and dislike, good and evil (Soothill); action (Eitel); opérant (Hō.).

- 7 Sk. vijñāna: Connaissances, pensées (Filliozat); mental faculty in regard to perception and cognition; Knowledge (Eitel); notation (Hō.).
- 8 The Five Bodhisattvas, placed sometimes to the left of Śākyamuni, indicate the five forms of Knowledge. Cf. Hō., pp. 148 ff. and Pls. XI and XII.
- 9 Shô (Victorious), or Shushō Bucchō; Sk. Jaya, who holds the sword, symbol of Knowledge or of Discretion; Germ-syllable = \$a, "appeasement."
- 10 Shajo (who wards off), or Joshō Bucchō (warding off obstacles); Sk. Vikīrṇa, who disperses and distroys all painful illusions; symbol = hook (Soothill); germ-syllable = hrīm, "freed from the Aggregates."
- 11 Kōju, Kaju (mass of flame) or Hōkō Bucchō; Sk. Tejorāśi, collected brilliance with insignia of authority (Soothill); germ-syllable = trīm, "immaculate Thusness."
- 12 Byakusangai Bucchō Rin-ō (white parasol) or Byakusan Bucchō, carries a white parasol, symbol of pure mercy. One of the names of Avalokiteśvara. Sk. Sitātapatra; cf. Hō., p. 221b, s.v. Byakusangaibucchō; germ-syllable = lam "compassion."
- 13 Also Saishō (supremely victorious). Sk. Vijaya, who is figured with a golden wheel, symbol of the unequaled power to preach the doctrine; germ syllable = sī "Lotus of the Law."
- 14 Sk. Pañcendriyāņi: indriya = faculté, pouvoir, activité des organes (Filliozat). They are the Five Roots (go kon), i.e., the Five Organs of the Senses: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body as roots of Knowledge (Soothill). Cf. Chadāyatana (Eitel, p. 198); Die Fünf Wurzeln (Hackmann, Erklärendes Wörterbuch, p. 313b); de Visser, "The Arhats in China and Japan," p. 98.
 - 15 Sk. śraddhā.
- 16 Sk. vīrya. Cf. shōjin haramitsu. This is progress toward enlightenment. Hō. (p. 90b and p. 77b) gives "Bonne Volonté"; Eitel (p. 204a) gives "zealous advance"; Hackmann (p. 313b) gives "Energie."
 - 17 Sk. smrti.
- 18 Sk. samādhi: visionary meditation (Soothill).
 - 19 Sk. prajñā: wisdom (Soothill).

 [continued on p. 34]

it is imperative to avoid the chronological error of attributing to the mudrā used before the codification of the Vajrayāna the varied meanings which they were to assume from the VII century on. One is obliged to define the principal role of these first gestures in Gandhara as that of evoking the specific function of Gautama Buddha. After the VII century in India, the VIII in Tibet and in China, and the beginning of the IX in Japan, the influence of the Vajrayana was felt throughout the Far East, and the various mudra appertaining to this school were henceforth liable to Esoteric interpretations based on the highly organized notions presented in our table of relationships.

21 Sk. prajñā. Wisdom (Soothill), with reference to principles or morals; cf. n. 25, infra.

22 Hō (ben); Sk. upāya, method (Soothill); moyen (Hō.).

23 (Se) gan; Sk. pranidhana.

24 Sk. bala. Cf. Eitel, p. 28/a.

25 Sk. jñāna, "defined as decision or judgment as to phenomena or affairs and their principles, of things and their fundamental laws" (Soothill, p. 374b).

26 Sk. dana: charité (Ho.).

27 Sk. sīla: discipline, défense (Hō.).

28 Sk. kṣānti. "The power of patient endurance in the desire realm and the two realms above it, necessary to acquire the full realization of the truth of the Four Axioms" (Soothill). Cf. Soothill, p. 36a (the Eight Patiences).

29 (Shō) jin: effort, industry (Soothill).

30 Sk. dhyāna: meditative concentration; meditation (Soothill); extase (Ho.).

31 The Five Buddhas of the kongokai and the taizīkai are: Shaka (Sk. Śākyamuni), incarnation and nirmāṇakāya; Amida (Sk. Amitābha), wisdom in action; Hosho (Sk. Ratnasambhava), bliss and glory; Ashuku (Sk. Aksobhya), immutable and sovereign; Dainichi (Sk. Vairocana), eternal and pure dharmakaya. Concerning the mudra of these Buddhas, Soothill (p. 113a) notes: "The manual signs by which the characteristic of each of the Five Dhyani-Buddhas is shown in the Diamond-

realm group, i.e. Vairocana, the closed hand of wisdom; Aksobhya, right fingers touching the ground, firm wisdom; Ratnasambhava, right hand open uplifted, vow-making sign; Amitābha, samādhi sign, right fingers in left palm, preaching and ending doubts; and Amoghasiddhi, i.e. Šākyamuni, the karma sign, i.e. final nirvāņa."

32 Preta: hungry spirits of which there are various classes. Soothill (p. 454a) notes: "They are of varied classes, numbering nine or thirty-six, and are in differing degrees and kinds of suffering, some wealthy and of light torment, others possessing nothing and in perpetual torment; some are jailers and executioners of Yama in the hells, others wander to and fro amongst men, especially at night."

33 Asura is an ambivalent term originally meaning spirit(s), sometimes good, sometimes bad. Here they may be thought of as enemies of the gods, especially Indra, with whom they wage constant war (Soothill, p. 285a).

34 Cf. Soothill, p. 51a.

35 Śrāvaka, "hearer," meaning those who listened to the Buddha, i.e., his personal disciples and hence disciples in general. Soothill (p. 462a) says: "but its general connotation relates it to Hīnayāna disciples who understand the four dogmas, rid themselves of the unreality of the phenomenal, and enter nirvāņa; it is the initial stage."

36 Pratyeka-buddha: a Buddha who lives alone and gains enlightenment for himself in contrast with the altruistic Bodhisattva principle. See Soothill, p. 441a.

²⁰ The Ten Degrees or Virtues, that is, the pāramitā (perfections). The Six Pāramitā: the six things that ferry one beyond the sea of mortality to nirvāņa (Soothill).

6 Classification

TRADITIONAL CLASSIFICATION assigns the mudrā to two general categories: the so-called "with form" $(ugy\bar{o})$ and the "without form" mudrā $(mugy\bar{o})$. The Dainichiky \bar{o} explains that in the term "mudrā-form" $(in-gy\bar{o})$, in signifies that which is held in the hand (the wheel, the sword, the vajra, etc.), while $gy\bar{o}$ refers to the color (blue, yellow, red, etc.), or to the shape (oval, triangular, etc.) of the objects in question. Consequently, attributes fall under the heading of "with form," for they constitute a concrete object of meditation. Such seems to be the idea of Buddhaguhya. On the other hand, anything of an immaterial nature—thoughts, consecrations (kaji), mystic formulas $(dh\bar{a}ran\bar{i})$ —is in a sense formless, and therefore it falls under the heading of "without form" $(mugy\bar{o})$. The hand gesture endows these "without form" elements with a visible shape, thereby crystallizing an immaterial state.

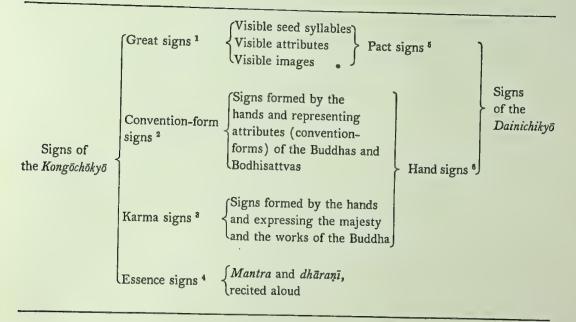
And so it may be said that the "with form" category (ugyō), as related to hand gestures, refer to those mudrā occurring in Buddhist statues as well as to the gestures of priests performing the Esoteric ritual. Since they are visible, they have form (ugyō). In statues, these "with form" gestures stand for the original vow of the personages represented, while in living persons they are thought to stand for meditation on the Buddha in one's heart, such being the goal of the Esoteric concentration. A celebrant of the rites, by making mudrā, arrives at the state of concentration known as butsunyūga, ganyūbutsu, the fusion of Buddha and self, self and Buddha. It may be noted here that consecration mudrā (kaji-in)

are used in accompaniment to a kaji and are classified as form mudrā; their object is either to purify or to exorcise evil spirits.

Owing to the confusing abundance of literature surrounding the mudra, it is almost impossible to subject them to a rigid classification. Buddhist authors explain them sometimes one way, sometimes another. Zemmui Sanzō 5 divides mudrā into hand signs (shu-in) and pact signs (kei-in). The hand signs are essentially those mudra formed by the contortion of the fingers, while the pact signs would seem to be distinguishing symbols such as the lotus, sword, or the like. Pact signs are objects of meditation. However, hand sign (shu-in) may be thought of as being a generic term for all mudra, and as such it is often used. In practice, it stands quite well for the mudra of the ritual as well as for those used in iconographic representations; it is not, however, an entirely correct name for all mudrā. In the Kongōchōkyō,6 for example, four main types of mudrā are mentioned. The first is called the Great sign (dai-in) or great mudrā. In this type, the celebrant, by means of seed syllables $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$, attributes, and statues, concentrates on achieving a unification with the divinity of his meditation—the so-called "concentration on the five stages of Vairocana Buddhahood," that is, concentration on entry into the bodhi-mind and maintenance of this state once it has been achieved, concentration on the attainment of the diamond mind and the realization of the diamond embodiment, and finally the perfect attainment of the Buddha state.7 The second type is called the mudrā of distinguishing symbols (sammayagyō-in), sometimes known as the mudrā of convention form. Such mudrā are hand gestures which represent conventional symbols (e.g., lotus, sword). The third type is styled karma sign (komma-in). These are gestures which stand for respect-inspiring deportment and for the acts of the Buddha. The fourth type is called Essence sign (hō-in), being nothing more than the recitation of Esoteric mystic formulas. A diagram of these gestures may be helpful.

The relation of these four mudra types is not absolutely clear, and here again Buddhist authorities seem to differ in their interpretation. Vajra, who commented on Buddhaguhya's *Tantrārthāvatāra*, mentions

Diag. II]



NOTES TO DIAGRAM II

- 1 Dai-(chi-)in (Sk. mahājñānamudrā) are image forms (Soothill, p. 176.2). Cf. BD 727b, s.v. shichi-in: the Four Sorts of Mandara (Glasenapp, MB, p. 109). (The diagram is based on Toganoo, MK, p. 486.) Toganoo, Mikkyō shisō to selkatsu, p. 96, says that the dai-in are the postures of the Buddha's body. Dai may also stand for the Five Elements.
- 2 Sammayagyō-in (Sk. samayajñānamudrā) are the symbols and the manual signs (Soothill, p. 176.2); Smidt, III, p. 191, says that the attributes symbolize the sounds: cf. BD 727b, s.v. shichi-in.
- 3 Komma-in (karmajñānamudrā) are the emblems of specific functions (Soothill, p. 176/b). According to the BD (727b), the komma-in represent the revered works of the Buddha.
- 4 Hō-(chi-)in (Sk. dharmajnānamudrā) are the magical formulas (Soothill, p. 176/b) and, according to the BD (727b), the germ syllables, the sammaji of the Essence Body, and the exoteric dhāranī.

Toganoo, MK, p. 486, notes that, according

to the Tantrārthāvatāra by Buddhaguhya (tr. by Vajra, under the title of Tantrārthāvatāra-vyākhyāna), all the in derive from the hō-in or from the dai-in. In are rather "effects" than "causes." The Cause is the bodaishin, the enlightened heart (cf. Soothill, p. 388b). The dai-in come from the bodaishin, and the Virtue (kudoku) of knowledge produces the others. This is attested in the Dainichikyō and the Kongōchōkyō. Zemmui Sanzō, in the Dainichikyōsho (15: 8, 40), states: "... the germ syllables of the Buddhas derive from the bodaishin... All the in also derive from the bodaishin."

Toganoo, Mikkyō shisō to seikatsu, p. 96, notes that the $h\bar{o}$ -in are those mudrā used in the predication of the Law to avoid error.

- 5 According to Mochizuki, BD, 177a, li. 17 ff., kei-in signifies the symbolic objects that the divinities hold in their hands the lotus (Kannon), the sword (Monju), etc.
- 6 Ibid.: shu-in signifies the symbolic gestures chi ken-in (kongōkai Dainichi), hokkaijō-in (taizōkai Dainichi).

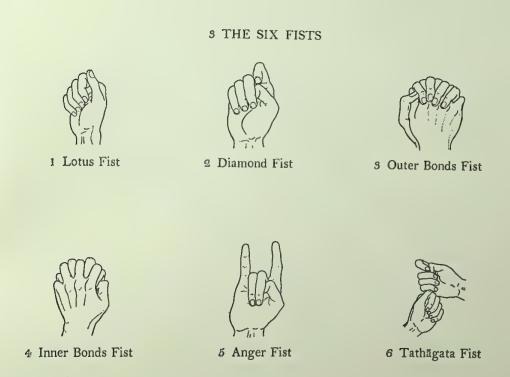
that some maintain that mudrā stem from the Law signs while others claim they come from the Great signs. In this they are wrong, he says, for mudrā are effects, not causes. "Their cause is in the bodhi-heart. From the bodhi-heart came the Great signs, and the other mudrā came from the virtue of Knowledge." ¹⁰ Zemmui Sanzō comments that "all the Tathā-gata are born of the bodhi-heart, and the seed syllables (bīja) of the Buddha nature. We must realize this. Also, all mudrā stem from this bodhi-heart." ¹¹

In contrast to the four types of mudrā set forth in the Kongōchōkyō,¹² the commentary to the Dainichikyō ¹³ mentions two types: pact signs (kei-in) and hand signs (shu-in). Here, "pact signs" regularly designate visible distinguishing symbols—that is, syllables, attributes, and images—while "hand sign" designates more precisely actual hand gestures formed by worshipers. Thus, in diagram II, it may be seen how the four categories of "signs" set forth in the Kongōchōkyō compare with the two-fold category of the Dainichikyō. It may be observed that the Kongōchōkyō Essence Signs do not fit into either of the Dainichikyō's two headings. In point of fact, the designation "hand sign" (shu-in) often refers to that type of gesture which imitates forms—i.e., the lotus, the vajra; they were later complicated by a technical symbolism. This technical type of shu-in first appears in the Murimandarajukyō,¹⁴ which lists sixteen.¹⁵

The above mudrā are all based on two groups of fundamental hand signs which are known as mother signs (in-mo). They are perhaps most systematically treated in Zemmui Sanzō's 16 commentary on the Daini-chikyō.17

The Four Types of Fist (shishu-ken) are the Lotus Fist, the Diamond Fist, the Outer Bonds Fist, and the Inner Bonds Fist. The Lotus Fist (renge ken-in), also called the Womb Fist (tai-ken), is thought of as being the mother sign of the taizōkai maṇḍala. This mudrā is made by folding the fingers into a fist with the thumb pressed against the side of the index. It is thought to represent an unopened lotus. The second, the Diamond Fist (kongō ken-in), is the most important; it is considered to be the mother sign of the Kongōchō section in the maṇḍala. The karma

mudrā set forth in the Kongōchōkyō are all based on this Diamond Fist.²³ This gesture is formed by the middle, ring, and little fingers grasping the thumb while the tip of the index touches the thumb knuckle.²⁴ Methods for making this Diamond Fist vary. In the Kongōchōkyō,²⁵ it is called the



"mudrā of diamond bond Knowledge, the body speech and heart of all the Tathāgata" (issainyoraishingonshinkongōbakuchi-in), a title which expresses the unity of the Three Mysteries (body, speech, and thought) of all the Tathāgata.

The third, styled the Outer Bonds Fist (gebaku ken-in), 26 is formed by clasping the hands, palm to palm, with the fingers on the outside. In the Kongōchōkyō, 27 it is called Diamond Bonds (kongōbaku), and the space between the two hands is likened to the moon. 28 The convention-form mudrā (sammaya-in) of the Kongōchōkyō all have this Outer Bonds mudrā

as their mother sign. Some see in this gesture a relation to the lotus: that is, the gesture seems to represent the moon resting on a lotus, the eight fingers representing so many lotus leaves.²⁹ But this would seem a rather arbitrary interpretation, and it is not, as far as I know, based on any textual prescription. Some would see in the ten fingers a representation of moonbeams,³⁰ and it is true that for certain meditations on the moon disk this Outer Bonds gesture is made.³¹

Number four, the Inner Bonds Fist (naibaku ken-in), is explained in the Dainichikyō-sho as a two-handed fist.³² In this gesture the ten fingers are joined with the tips on the inside. The Inner Bonds Fist is the mother sign of the taizō section and is not much used in the kongō section of the maṇḍala. The space between the two hands again represents the moon, on the analogy with the Outer Bonds Fist. This gesture of the Inner Bonds may be thought to represent the bodhi-heart, symbolized by the moon, i.e., the space between the hands, the fingers being a kind of aureole.³³

To these four basic fists are sometimes added the Anger Fist (funnu ken-in) ³⁴ and the Tathāgata Fist (nyorai ken-in), ³⁵ making in all the not uncommon group of the Six Types of Fist. The Anger Fist is formed by closing the middle and ring fingers over the thumb while the index and little finger are held erect, slightly curved. The Tathāgata Fist is made by forming a Lotus Fist with the left hand and a Diamond Fist with the right, the left thumb being inserted into the right fist by the little finger.

The second group of fundamental hand gestures is called the Twelve

4-1] Handclasps (jūnigōshō or jūnigasshō). The first is the nebina gasshō or the
clasp of the firm and sincere heart (kenjisshin). The two hands are placed
together, palm against palm. No space is left between them. The second,

4-2] the sanfuta (Sk. saṃpuṭa) clasp is that of the empty heart (koshin). The
ten fingers are brought together, but between the hands a slight space is

4-3] left. Number three is the kumma(n)ra (Sk. kamala?) clasp, representing
the unopened lotus. The space between the hands is slightly more than in

4-4] the preceding. Number four, the boda (Sk. *pūṇa) clasp, is called the

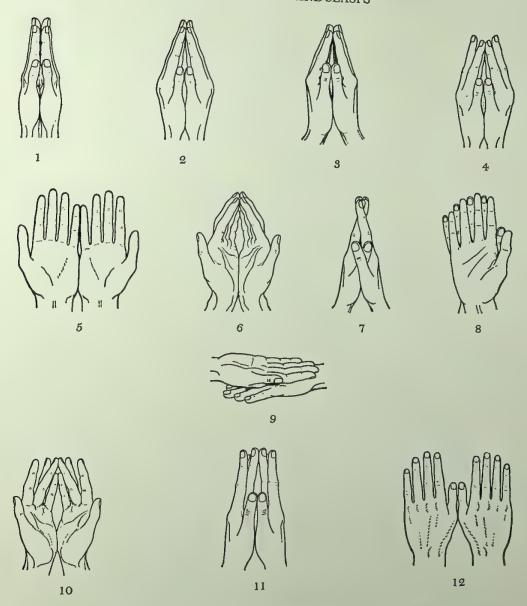
newly opening lotus.³⁹ Here the ten fingers join, and the index, middle,

4-5] and ring fingers are slightly separated to leave an opening. Number five,

3-5]

3-67

4 THE TWELVE HANDCLASPS



the ottanasha (Sk. uttānaja) clasp means the clasp of clear exposition $(kenr\bar{o})$.⁴⁰ The two palms are presented open side by side, fingers up. In number six, the adara (Sk. $\bar{a}dh\bar{a}ra$) clasp, which stands for the gesture of holding water, the hands are cupped.⁴¹ In number seven, the haranama (Sk. $pran\bar{a}ma$) gasshō, the clasp of refuge $(kimy\bar{o})$,⁴² the fingers of the right hand are interlocked at the tips with those of the left, the right hand

[4-6

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CLASSIFICATION

- on top. This is in fact the Diamond Fist as it is set forth in the Kongōchōkyō. Number eight, the miharita (Sk. viparīta) gasshō, is known as the 4-87 backhand clasp.43 In it the right and left hands are joined back to back, the ten fingers being interlocked with each other. Number nine, the biharari-4-97 eisata (Sk.* viparyasta) gassho, means that the hands are placed back to back one on top of the other. The gesture is made by holding the left hand palm down while the back of the right hand is placed upon it.44 Number 4-107 ten is the teiriei gasshō, which means the clasp of construction-supportfingers.45 The palms face each other but only the middle fingers touch, the rest being held apart and erect. Number eleven, the adara (Sk. ādhāra) 4-11] clasp is called the "covering hands facing downward." 46 The two hands are held side by side, palm downward, thumbs touching, while the two
- middle fingers are brought together at their tips. In number twelve, the fukushu clasp,⁴⁷ or the clasp of the covering hands, the two hands are held palms down touching at the thumbs and spread wide.⁴⁸

7 Generalities

AS HAS ALREADY BEEN NOTED, the mudrā of the first Buddhist statues in India had no precise iconographic meaning.¹ Moreover, the number of symbolic gestures used during the early times of Gandhāra, at Amarāvatī, and at Mathurā appears to have been very small.² But little by little the mudrā multiplied, and a specific nomenclature as well as a more exact iconographic signification was attributed to them. This organization had taken place in large part by the VII century A.D. Before Esotericism, around the beginning of the Christian era, the symbols used in the aniconic representations of the Buddha, such as the wheel, the lotus, etc., were replaced by the figuration of the historical Buddha in human form. Mudrā were used especially to clarify the symbolic sense of the statue. On the gestures then devolved, to a certain extent, the former identifying role of the symbols employed in aniconic representations.

Despite their small number, these first mudrā were to furnish the principal symbolic gestures that spread beyond the Indian frontiers. The most common mudrā in Gandhāran art is found on statues of the Buddha: he holds with his left hand a corner of his stole, while the right hand is raised, the palm outward. According to the texts, this raised hand should be the gesture which stands for the Predication of the Law. It later symbolizes the moment in which the Buddha subdues the drunken elephant who was on the point of crushing him. Thus it is the gesture which is to symbolize the Buddhist quality of fearlessness. But in Gandhāra, this same mudrā signifies indiscriminately the Predication, the Enlightenment, or the Temptation by the demons. A later gesture (called in Japa-

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GENERALITIES

nese the temborin-in-mudra of the Turning of the wheel of the Law), XI, XII] which is fully developed at Ajanțā and at Sārnāth, will express quite specifically the Predication of the Law. Subsequently, by undergoing modifications of form and of meaning, this same gesture may possibly

have evolved, under the influence of Esoteric Buddhism, into the chi XIV ken-in. As for the Enlightenment and the Temptation, these two episodes are respectively represented in Esoteric art by specific mudrā, the jō-in

X, XVI] and the sokuchi-in. CIIIV

It is manifest, however, that from the beginning of iconic Buddhist art until the IV and V centuries, the raised hand (of the Predication of the Law) 4 was the mudrā the most frequently represented in India. This predominance is manifest in other countries as well: in China with Northern Wei statues, and in Japan with Suiko statues, which prove the continuity of this gesture across Asia. In China this gesture was to keep its predominance during the T'ang, and ceded its place only under the Five Dynasties and the Sung, that is, toward the XI-XII centuries.5

In India, the temborin-in begins to prevail over the semui-in around the V and VII centuries and becomes characteristic of Gupta and post-Gupta statues. According to Hsüan-tsang and Wang Hsüan-ts'e, the temborin-in begins to predominate in China at the beginning of the T'ang. This ascendancy was reflected in Japan toward the IX-X centuries.6

Besides their role as metaphysical symbols, the mudrā may, in certain cases, permit the identification of specific Buddhas. It has been noted that few formal rules governed the symbolic gestures in early Gandharan sculpture. Yet it appears that already in Gandhara gestures had begun to designate specifically certain Buddhas,7 and in time this tendency was to become generalized. However, the mudrā (and the attributes) which will be treated in this study do not by any means constitute a proof of identity by themselves. While frequently appearing on the statues of the historical Buddha, they may not be taken as exclusively characteristic of the Buddha Śākyamuni. "It is difficult on this basis alone (and this is true of Buddhist sculpture in general) to know whether a Buddha represents Sākyamuni, Amitābha, or Vairocana." 8 Nevertheless, mudrā and attri-

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III, XXVI]

XI, XII]

butes, although not absolute evidence of identity, help to individualize the various Buddhas by completing with other iconographic details the symbolic framework of statues. The possibility of identifying by means of gestures and attributes is more and more manifest as Buddhist iconography evolves: certain attitudes and certain mudrā are associated, if not infallibly, at least frequently enough to draw certain generalities of identification. Thus the universal occurrence of such associations as Dainichi and the chi ken-in (kongōkai) or the hokkai jō-in (taizōkai); Amida and the semui-in or the mida jō-in; Shakamuni and the sokuchi-in; and Yakushi and the an-i-in or the semui-in.9

[XIV, XVI

The spread of Buddhism throughout Asia imposed on the mudrā considerable modifications of form and of meaning. These became more and more apparent as the mudrā moved further from the country of their origin. In India, differences are less marked. "The mudrās," writes Sirén, "have a precise meaning; they must be represented in conformity with recognized rules. The artist may reproduce them either as completely conventional clichés or he may lend to them more or less freedom and grace: in no case may he modify their essential traits. The gamut of personal variations is very limited: it is a question of nuances and of suggestions rather than of differences in form." ¹⁰

The modifications brought about beyond the frontiers of India may be explained in several ways. It is possible that in China the artists who continued the Indian tradition had only superficial notions of Indian iconography; they were doubtless even less aware of the texts which underlay the elaboration of these statues. Working from simple instructions, they were probably but little preoccupied with precision in things artistic. For instance, Davidson notes that in China when a particular Buddha was commissioned to be represented, a stock figure may have been produced and then identified by inscription rather than by position and attributes. In India, on the other hand, the sculptor in creating the statue accomplished a pious work, of religious significance. The observance of iconographic details set forth by religious writ was of fundamental importance. By the VII century, accurate drawings of Indian

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Buddhist statues were brought back to China by returning pilgrims. 14 Despite this fact, in non-Indian Asia "the iconographic tradition became obliterated . . . little by little and there were created works so far from the traditional pose and so devoid of significant attributes that they escaped any attempt at a very precise definition." 15 Thus, in India, certain statues originally bore in hand one or several specific attributes. At the time of the passage of these statues beyond Indian frontiers, the attributes—the sculptured objects themselves—very likely came to be lost, and there remained in the hand that had held them only a gesture devoid of meaning. Nevertheless, this gesture was sometimes reproduced and given the value of a mudrā whose prototype may be found no place in India. Such may well be the case of the an-i-shōshu-in. 16

The freedom of interpretation which characterizes Chinese and Japanese works as contrasted with Indian works sometimes resulted in considerable iconographic modifications. On the one hand, this would arise from the obsolescence of the "iconographic traditions" of which Sirén speaks, or, in Japan, from a simple lack of models as well as of careful observation on the part of the Japanese artisan. Moreover, the Japanese did not have a fundamentally philosophic or metaphysical turn of mind. Unlike the Indian with his exactness, the strictly precise meaning of details, as in the instance of symbolic gestures, probably meant little to the Japanese, less, probably, than the general aspect of the statue. The explanation may be found in the fact that Japan, being the end point in the Buddhist tradition, inherited a Buddhism already imprinted with the influences of non-Indian personalities and countries. The Japanese tradition was composite. Buddhism was a religion which the Japanese had adopted and not conceived. They were busier assimilating than developing it during the VII-X centuries. It is natural then that the iconographic variants deriving from the different national characters encountered en route should be reflected in the art of this country, and that the details of the iconographic tradition of India should become blurred.

The meaning of a specific mudrā during a geographical evolution may be clarified, to a certain point, by examining statues and images. But

the meaning of the mudra during its evolution in time-a problem of no less importance—is more difficult to fathom, for the sacred texts and the ritual commentaries do not permit the student to follow the development of the mudra in an uninterrupted line. For example, is the symbolism of the temborin-in in Gandharan India in the II century the same as in China under the Wei in the IV century, or in Japan under the Fujiwaras in the XI century? The answer to such a question is obviously no, for the mudra, as it has been seen, were subjected to numerous modifications in the course of their passage across Asia. It is evident that each of the various national characters brought to them its own genius. (Hence it is to be hoped that some future study may arrive at a more exact evaluation of the mudrā in time as well as in space. This question is brought to the reader's attention with respect to the present work and should serve to caution him of the general nature of the present treatment of mudra symbolism. The author is aware of what may be construed as slight attention to the particularities due to different sects and different periods; yet it is to be hoped that such a shortcoming will not outweigh the value of the information assembled in the following pages.)

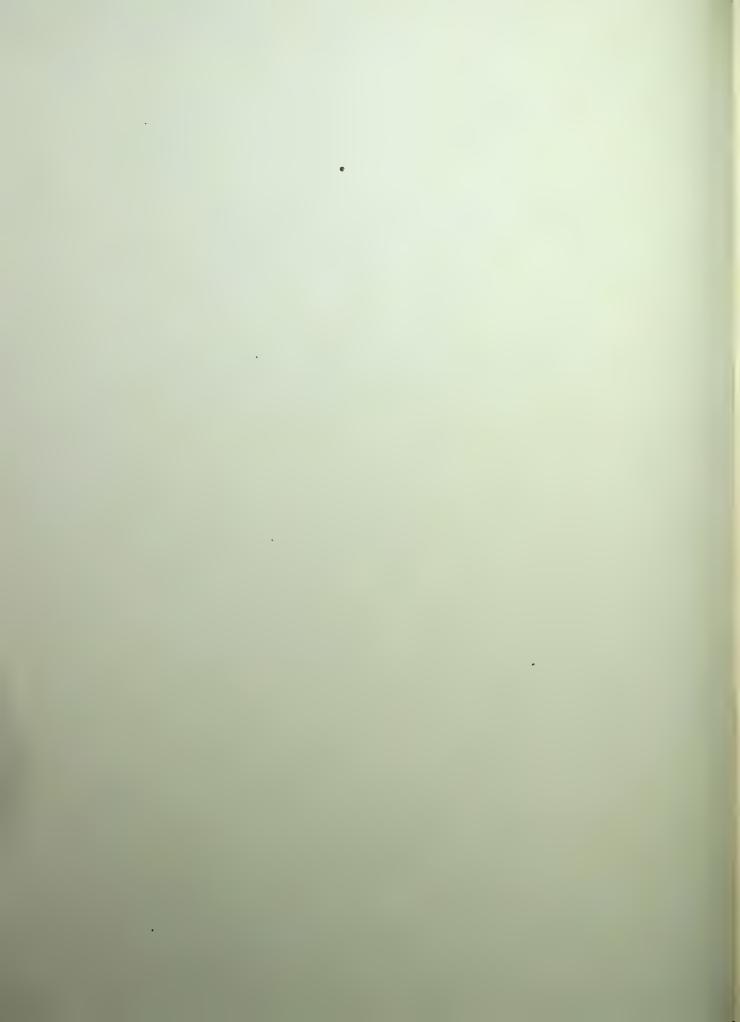
The meaning, especially ritual, of the mudrā differs according to the sect which employs it. The same is true for the meaning of the iconographic gesture. It will be necessary, then, in attributing any symbolism to a mudrā, to take into consideration the close relationship between the rites and iconography, the latter being largely the representation in art of the former. Given a variety of meanings of the same ritual gesture, care must be taken not to attach, a priori, a definitive meaning to the iconographic mudrā, but maximum attention must be given to the sect of which the statue is an icon and the period in which the statue was created. These two considerations may be found to modify considerably the interpretations of the symbolic gesture.

In the face of an immense body of confused and contradictory documentation, it would appear useful to make an attempt at clarifying all this information; this is an aim of the present study. In every statue, "the gestures and the attitudes are precisely the essential symbolic element:

thus, on the whole, it comes down to formulas more definite than types or than attributes. In fact, these latter are in many cases too inexact or undifferentiated to give us information on the name and the role of a Buddha or of a Bodhisattva. Only the gesture and the attitude make the personage intelligible to us as a symbol of a religious or metaphysical idea. This is why it is indispensable to know the attitudes and the gestures that are most often met with in Buddhist imagery in order to understand the meaning of the statues." ¹⁷

II

The Principal Symbolic Gestures



1 Mudra of the fulfilling of the vow

Segan-in 施願印

CH. Shih-yüan-yin

SK. Varamudrā, varadamudrā 1



In the segan-in, 2 the hand is lowered, the palm turned outward in a gesture of offering. According to the Dainichikyō (4): 3 "Then the right hand (called Wisdom hand) is directed downward and forms the segan-in. Gāthā: the yogan[-in] is like [this gesture]. And the Buddha explains: 'if one makes this mudrā then the Buddha(s) will fulfill all yows.'"

The palm should be completely exposed to the spectator, open and empty; the fingers may be slightly bent as if to support a round object.⁴ When the personage who makes this gesture is standing, he holds his arm slightly extended to the front. In seated statues, the hand remains at about breast level, a little to the side, the palm up; very often the other hand holds a corner of the kesa (monk's stole).⁵

In older statues, notably in those of the Suiko period, it may be observed that the fingers are most often rigid and unbent. This is also apparent in Chinese Wei figures, in which the mudrā is integrated into the characteristically set arrangement of the very linear works of that period. In Japan, the Wei-Sui form tends, as early as the Suiko period, toward a more subtle rhythm. In the Yakushi of the Kondō (Hōryūji) as well as in the Shaka Trinity, the little finger and the ring finger of the left hand are slightly inflected. The rigidity of the older statues gives way to a softening in the later periods, in which the fingers of the hand that makes the mudrā present a very supple and natural aspect. The arm, formerly extended in India, may as early as the Wei in China be bent at a rather

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abrupt angle in order to adapt to statues in a seated position. The relative flexion of the fingers seems to be a modification effected by the artisan himself, for texts limit themselves rather to indicating the general position 7 of this mudra. It is equally probable that the artisan was not well informed concerning the elaborative details of these texts. Passages in the canon 8 pertinent to the mudra note generally that the segan-in should be made by the right hand, but already in India examples 9 are to be seen, though rare, in which the gesture is made with the left hand, a tendency which was to be accentuated in China. In fact, one has but to refer to Wei sculpture to realize that with few exceptions the statues make the gesture of the segan-in with the left hand. Japan carries on the Wei-Sui themes. Nevertheless, the opinions of iconographers differ on the subject of the hand which is to make the gesture. 10 In Japan, the segan-in is habitually proper to the left hand, and the designation of the gesture of the downward pendent hand, as it is noted under the heading of semui-in (cf. infra), may be rather ambivalent. In India, however, one may make a very clear distinction between the downward hanging hand of the segan-in (vara $mudr\bar{a}$), and the raised hand of the semui-in (abhayamudr \bar{a}). As a general rule, this study will treat the traditional form.

I, III]

The segan-in is very often displayed in association with the semui-in. The first gesture is formed by the left hand, especially in early statues (Suiko), and the second by the right hand. This association is also apparent in Wei and Sui statues, where the simultaneous use of these two mudrā may be noted. In China also, the segan-in is almost always formed by the left hand, the semui-in by the right. Sometimes in Japan the left hand makes the segan-in while the right hand holds an attribute. On multiple-armed statues, the segan-in accompanies the an-i-in, the seppō-in (vitarkamudrā in India), the attitude (āsana) of meditation, or the kongō gasshō (añjalikarmamudrā). Even in multiple-armed statues, the segan-in is almost always formed by a left hand; however, in these, it may sometimes be formed by a right hand in order to maintain esthetic balance. Sometimes the gesture is displaced from the left to the right hand, especially if the left hand holds a symbolic attribute: mention may be made

of the Kichijō-ten of the Jōruriji (Kyōto), who carries in the left hand her particular attribute, 15 the wishing jewel.

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There is a variant of the *segan-in*: the palm is open, the thumb, the ring finger, and the little finger are bent, but the index and the middle finger remain stretched downward, and seem to indicate some lower point. In India there appears to be no example of this variant, but in China, if as early as the Sui, it is frequently reproduced, and in Japan it is present on the statues of Kannon of the Suiko and Heian periods. In Japan, the rigidly bent fingers seen in Sui statues are considerably relaxed to make the characteristic gesture of Amida. Is

SYMBOLISM

The segan-in indicates the charity of the Buddha, for it is the gesture of dispensing favors. 19 Moreover, the Sino-Japanese transcription emphasizes the idea of charity, of alms which the Buddha gives for the wellbeing of the world: se, "to give alms" (Sk. dāna). This transcription also underlines the notion of the materialization of the Vow: gan, "vows" (Sk. pranidhana). It follows that the variants of this designation all express the realization of the vows offered by the Buddha as assistance, or alms, to Sentient Beings; yogan-in, mudrā of giving, of granting desires through the charity of the Buddha; mangan-in, mudrā of fulfilling (man) the Vow. This notion of charity, of granting the Vow, represented in the Sino-Japanese transcription, reflects the meaning of the Sanskrit term vara or varada.20 Beginning with the idea of the charity accorded by the Buddha, this mudrā grants all desires and becomes, by extension, the symbol of the "Gift of Truth" made by the Buddha, Truth of the Doctrine, Truth of the means to salvation.21 The open hand, the extended fingers, symbolize the flowering of this Perfect Truth. The double aspect of the gesture, consequently, is apparent in these titles. There is, of course, the connecting thread of "charity," but in segan the emphasis is put on the fulfillment of the Vow, i.e., the original Vow of the historical Buddha to strive for the salvation of all Sentient Beings. In such designations as yogan and mangan appears the somewhat profane idea of fulfillment of wishes, not on the part of the Buddha as he acquits himself of his responsibility toward Sentient Beings, but on a much lower plane, that of satisfying the worldly desires of Sentient Beings even though these be chiefly to acquire salvation. The direction of these two aspects of charity is quite different; the second may be considered of a more profane nature, though it stems, of course, from a quite natural popular extension of the religion.

This gesture 22 is characteristic of several divinities, the most important being Kannon. In India, this mudra was the most frequent symbolic gesture of Avalokiteśvara (Kannon). Present as early as the beginning of the Gupta 23 period (IV century), it prevailed from the VIII century until the decadence of Bengalese Pāla-Sena art. It becomes an habitual gesture of the multiple-armed Avalokiteśvara.24 In Japan, Kannon,²⁵ Nyo-i-rin Kannon,²⁶ Shōkannon, and Jūichimen (Twelveheaded) Kannon 27 make this mudra, most often with the left hand, more rarely with the right. In paintings, Kannon is sometimes depicted letting drop from the ends of the fingers of her right hand the nectar of life which the divinity diffuses around her for the Beings who worship her: this is the expression of the Compassion of Kannon. Early, in India, this miracle was cited "for the great relief of the hosts in the world of the dead." According to the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha: "Then Avalokiteśvara approaches the City(of the Dead), it freezes up; the guardian is kind; Avalokiteśvara the Compassionate causes to flow from her fingers ten vaitaranī, the water of the eight elements, a true water of life, which will permit the dead to reconstitute themselves. When they partake of this water, they are reembodied. When Avalokiteśvara has saved them, they are transported into the Sukhāvatī heaven, where the Bodhisattva finds them." 28

The segan-in figures on the statues of the Five dhyāni Buddhas,²⁹ and constitutes a particular symbol of Hōshō ³⁰ (Ratnasaṃbhava). It is also seen on statues of Roshana ³¹ (Vairocana), of Shakamuni,³² and of Amida,³³ as well as on those of the Bodhisattvas Miroku, Yakushi,³⁴ and Monju, and the popular deity Kichijō-ten.³⁵

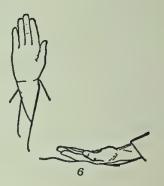
XXIII]

2 Mudrā which grants the absence of fear

Semui-in 施無畏印

CH. Shih-wu-wei-yin

SK. Abhayamudrā, abhayamdadamudrā 1



THE SEMUI-IN, like the an-i-in a gesture of preaching, would seem to sustain the theory that symbolic gestures originally sprang from natural movements. Certainly the outstretched hand is an almost universal iconographic symbol. In the Mediterranean world, for example, the outstretched right hand of the king has magical power; there must be a close connection with the power of salvation in the right hand of the Roman emperors. This all-powerful hand, or magna manus, as it was called, was connected with emperor and deity alike: Constantine signifies the act of ruling by stretching out his right hand,² and God, as a savior, makes the same gesture.

The origin of the raised right hand should probably be sought in the Middle East, whence it must have spread both eastward and westward. It is a common gesture in Gandhāran sculpture; and in Roman art from the time of Severus (c. 200), the emperor is depicted with the raised right hand. In Semitic religious ritual, for example, this gesture was used as a magic blessing having apotropaic powers. "When it is made by a god, it protects his servants against all malign influences and evil spirits: thus it becomes a tutelary sign, a symbol of benediction. When the faithful worshiper himself makes it, he reinforces thereby his prayer or his incantation, and the action of the hand is added to that of the sacred words, in order to save him from all evil." In Persia, the cosmocrator Ahura Mazda in the world ring stretches out his right hand in a similar gesture of power. Moreover, there are numerous Biblical references to the magical powers and omnipotence of the magna manus: "Thou hast a mighty

arm: strong is thy hand, and high is thy right hand" (Psalm 89: 14,3). This concept of the right hand apparently penetrated into ancient Greece, but it fell into disuse until around the third century A.D. The use of the gesture in Christian iconography is attested very early. By this sign Christ is designated as the all-powerful monarch, cosmocrator and pantocrator. It may be noted, too, that the gesture evolved from a sign of power and rule to one of transmitting the law. According to the so-called traditio legis, this is the sign of Christ who gives his doctrine to the world. And, like Christ the lawgiver and pantocrator, the Buddha assumes the double role of lawgiver and protector. "The preference for the right hand is perhaps connected with the apparent course of the sun from east to west, and the consequent idea that a sunwise course, keeping the object always on the right hand, is of good omen and the opposite of evil." 8a

The semui-in, the hand raised to appease, is formed, according to the Shugokokkaishudaranikyō, in the following way: "The right hand exposes the palm; the five fingers, stretched vertically at the level of the shoulder, face toward the outside. [The gesture] is called the semui[-in]. This mudrā has the power of giving tranquillity and absence of fear to all Beings." 9

According to the Dainichikyō: "It is with the Wisdom hand (i.e., right hand) raised and exposed that the form [of the gesture] of the semui is made: gāthā: to all the categories of Beings, it has the power of giving absence of fear. If this dai-in 10 is formed, it is called semui-sha, the one that grants the absence of fear." And from the same: "Vipaśyana makes the mudrā called the semui-shu. This is the sign (mudrā) of the one who confers intrepidity." 11

According to the majority of authorities in matters of iconography, the position of the hand for the *semui-in* is that which is set forth in the preceding texts. Rao indicates that the fingers stretched upward, the palm exposed toward the outside, derives from the Hindu manner of greeting. Auboyer calls the *abhayamudrā* "the right hand raised for appeasing." In fact, the position of the raised hand, the palm toward the front, may be

considered as being the *semui-in*; the hand pendent, the fingers downward, is rather the *segan-in*, "the mudrā of charity." These two mudrā by reason of their similar meaning have tended to blend. In Japan the designation *semui-in* may apply either to the hand raised, the fingers stretched upward, or lowered, the fingers stretched downward. Sūtra texts support this statement. The *Senkōgenkyō*, 13 for example, endorses the double form of the gesture in the following way: "In the *semui*[-in], the right hand is stretched out; the five fingers are held downward, the palm exposed." And in the *Kōōbosatsudaranikyō*: 14 "The right arm hangs down. The five fingers are all stretched downward in the *semui-shu*. From the end of each of the five fingers rains the ambrosia 15 [which the Bodhisattva] gives as alms to [all] the Beings of the Five Destinations." 16

Even when the title of semui-in, "mudrā of fearlessness," is attributed to the lowered hand, the symbolism is none the less that of segan-in, "mudrā of charity," the usual designation of the lowered hand. The Japanese term semui-in may then encompass the abhayamudrā and the varamudrā,17 but the symbolism of the two gestures remains different. Certain texts tend to relate these mudrā by giving them a common meaning, that of bestowing. The segan-in bestows the gift of charity; the semui-in, the gift of intrepidity. The essential meaning differs in that the upwardstretched fingers of the semui-in indicate the act of offering, while the downward-stretched fingers of the segan-in indicate the act of conferring from above to below, from the higher level of the Buddha to the lower level of Sentient Beings. The dominating idea of gift tends probably to unite these gestures; gan (vow of charity) and mu-i (intrepidity) note only the distinction of kind and of aim of the gift. The mutual contamination of these two gestures in Japan may have come about as in the case of the an-i-in (see infra). This rather imprecise usage, founded on diverse traditions in Japan, does not exist in India, where the mudrā in question remain distinct from each other. The abhayamudr \bar{a} is formed by "right hand raised, the palm outward, the fingers stretched and joined"; 19 the varamudrā, by the fingers hanging downward; and the vitarkamudrā, by joining the thumb and the index.

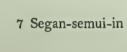
SEMUI-IN

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Certain mudrā, such as the segan-in, are made by either hand. The semui-in, on the contrary, is uniquely a mudrā of the right hand, and from the II century in India, in Central Asia, and China, this mudrā is iconographically constant. Since the beginnings of Buddhist iconography in Gandhāra, the exact position of the hand seems to have changed: on the earliest statues it is at shoulder level, but it was gradually to lower until around the V century it seems to have become fixed somewhere above hip level. Actually, in Japan as well as in China, this gesture is always situated a little higher than the hips in standing statues, which is in conformity to the Wei-Sui types. In the second statues is always as the second statues in the second statues in the second statues.

This position of the hands, perhaps the most frequent of all the mudra, 22 is characteristic of standing statues, in which it is often associated with the segan-in (varamudra). The reason that these two mudra are used together, in what will be referred to as the compound segan-semui-in, 23 is probably due to the community of symbolic meaning as much as to the suitability of a double gesture to the artistic equilibrium of the statue.



SYMBOLISM

Traditionally, the position of the hand in the semui-in derives from the legend ²⁴ of the malevolent Devadatta, ²⁵ who, wishing to hurt the Buddha, caused an elephant to become drunk. As the elephant was about to trample him, Sākyamuni raised his right hand, with the fingers close together. The gesture not only stopped the elephant in his tracks but completely subdued him. ²⁶ Thus the gesture is called semui-in, "gesture of fearlessness." According to a later variant of the same legend, the Buddha raised his right hand and from his fingers issued five lions, ²⁷ who attacked the elephant and saved the life of the Buddha. From the five

fingers, furthermore, five-colored rays are supposed to spring forth, hence the semui-in may also be called the gesture of the five-colored rays, i.e., goshokkō-in.²⁸ In the first version, Buddhist benevolence triumphs over evil by inner strength and illustrates the concept of "not-hurting," in Sanskrit ahiṃsā. The second version, where there is recourse to the force of the lions, an exterior strength, is of a less spiritual nature. As Foucher points out, however, "this intervention of the lions constitutes a rather late interpolation: ²⁹ these are decadent methods, and we cannot see that this popular expedient was ever present even in the most mediocre works of Gandhāra." ³⁰ Moreover, it is interesting to note that a short time after his birth, the Buddha was presented at the temple of Abhaya, the protective divinity of the Sākya, so that already the Bodhisattva was associated with the ideas of fearlessness and protection.

In a passage of the *Sūtrālankāra*, the author, indicated as being Aśvaghoṣa, asks the following question: "Why," wonders a violator of the stūpa, 'do the artisans of this world, possessing wonderful talent and with holy intent, why do they represent the Buddha with the right hand raised? And the robber of the stūpa answers his own question: 'It is so that those who are afraid, when they see his image, may be freed of fear . . . (for this is the gesture) which gives confidence to those who are intimidated or frightened.' "³¹

With the notion of fearlessness as a point of departure, the symbolism of this gesture becomes by extension that of intrepidity: se, "to give," "gift"; mu-i, "fearlessness." ³² It is the gift of living without fear given by the Buddha to Sentient Beings. This gift expresses the benevolence of the Buddha, inspires the repose of the mind, and liberates it from the pains and troubles of this world. The fearlessnesses themselves fall into two series: the Four Fearlessnesses and the Six Fearlessnesses. The Four Fearlessnesses, ³³ which the Buddha dispenses, may be subdivided into four groups. The Fearlessness of the Buddha is born of his omniscience, of his perfection, of his power to dominate, and of his power to cause suffering to cease. The Fearlessness of the Bodhisattva is born of his power of memory, of his diagnostic moral power allied to his curative faculty, of

his ratiocination, and of his power to dispel doubts.³⁴ The Four Fearlessnesses are: ³⁵

- 1 Issaichi mushoi: Fearlessness which comes from omniscience.36
- 2 Rōjin mushoi: Fearlessness which comes from the complete destruction of illusions.³⁷
- 3 Setsushōdō mushoi: Fearlessness which comes from the explanation of doubts (obstacles).38
- 4 Setsujinkudō mushoi: Fearlessness which comes from the explanation that pain may be caused to cease.³⁹

The Six Fearlessnesses are those virtuous acts capable of leading the (Shingon) initiate to salvation. According to the *Dainichikyō*, they constitute one part of a double way to destroy illusions and to retrieve the pure, enlightened heart.⁴⁰ The Six Fearlessnesses are:

- 1 Zemmui: The Fearlessness of Good. Awakened to moral good, man may, through the practice of the Five Precepts (gokai) and of the Ten Good Actions, win peace.
- 2 Shimmui: The Fearlessness of the body. Through meditation on the impurity of the body, one arrives at rejection of the attachment one experiences for the Self.
- 3 Muga mui: The Fearlessness of Non-Self. The Shingon adept, "meditating on the unconditioned nature of his heart, arrives at ridding himself of attachment for his Self."
- 4 Hō mui: The Fearlessness of the Dharma. To understand the independent nonexistence of every phenomenal form.
- 5 Hō muga mui: The Fearlessness of the Selflessness of the Dharma.
 Understanding that any phenomenal form is but an aspect of one's
 Self permits the faithful to succeed in mastering his own heart.
- 6 Issaihō byōdō mui: The Fearlessness of the Identity of all the Dharma. "The faithful perceived partially the true aspect of the pure bodhi heart as immaculate as space."

According to the Si-do-in-dzou: "Fear is innate, not only in man but

in all that has existence. Birds, animals of all kinds, men, the sun, the moon, the worlds, fear continually of being suppressed by each other or of colliding, and are not for an instant without fear. It is the state that is called 'the world filled with fear and dread.' Despite the joys and the pleasures that one experiences and which constitute 'agreeable feelings,' there exists at the same time the feeling of fear because no earthly happiness is perfect. Thus, by virtue of believing in and following the Law, the faithful may arrive at a state which transcends joy, pleasure, calumny, pain; it is 'the world of the Buddha free from Fear.' "41

In ritual ceremonies the officiating priest makes the *semui-in* in order to give Sentient Beings fearlessness. But, as the legend points out, there is more in this gesture than non-fear, a negative expression: this mudrā expresses the gift of assurance.⁴² According to the legend, assurance in the face of danger is the fearlessness that calms,⁴³ that tranquillizes the mind. On a positive plane, this is intrepidity, courage, and audacity.⁴⁴ This mudrā, which was able to protect the Buddha against the elephant, will protect ⁴⁵ the believer against the assaults of evil.

Although the symbolism of the semui-in may be summed up in the expression "giving of fearlessness," its use and its meaning were still not established in most Gandhāran works, where this same semui-in represents not only the absence of fear but also the predication of the Buddha (to the Trayastrimśa gods). "Only (here) he is teaching after the fashion of a Buddhist image which goes back to a time when the gesture of Teaching, like the rest of the mudra, had not yet been established and hierarchized." 46 Echoes of the indiscriminate Gandharan use of this mudra may be found in China as well. Indeed, mention must be made of the semui-in as symbol not of fearlessness but rather of the preaching of the Law. This usage is early apparent in China; and in Japan, numerous statues making this gesture would certainly seem to be preaching rather than reassuring by giving the gift of fearlessness. And so there is no doubt but what the semui-in, in view of its preponderance in almost all of Asia, appropriated to itself a symbolism other than that of fearlessness alone. For example, it is manifest from the earlier Chinese Buddhist bronzes

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that in point of fact the semui-in was used rather than the temborin-in to symbolize the preaching of the Law. Statues ⁴⁷ which, according to iconographic evidence other than the gesture, may be accepted as being closely associated with the Lotus Sūtra, show Śākyamuni in the semui-in when he is obviously preaching the sermon in the Deer Park at Benares—for which the temborin-in would be most commonly used. It must be noted, too, that although in the Lotus Sūtra the temborin-in is definitely assigned to the Buddha Śākyamuni, in order to mark his predication of the Law and more precisely his preaching in the Deer Park at Benares, artistic tradition in China ⁴⁸ not infrequently permits the use of the semui-in. Curiously enough, then, an art convention identifies at Tun Huang, for example, the temborin-in with the Buddha Amitābha. ⁴⁹ In Japanese statues of later periods, the temborin-in is frequently made by the Buddha Amida.

The semui-in occurs on statues of many divinities. It is the particular position of the $D\bar{\imath}pamkara$ Buddha, the twenty-fourth predecessor of the historical Buddha, on who, holding his garment at the shoulder or at the hip with the left hand, makes the semui-in with his right hand. It is supposed that he appears whenever any subsequent Buddha preaches the Lotus Sūtra. According to Foucher, the uncovered right shoulder denotes a ceremonial event. This is corroborated by the Kongōhannyaparamittakyō, describing an assembly of monks near Srāvastī: "Now in the midst of the assembly was the Venerable Subhūti. Forthwith he arose, uncovered his right shoulder, knelt upon his right knee, and, respectfully raising his hands with palms joined, addressed Buddha thus." bia In Japan, the first representations in sculpture of the historical Buddha resemble those of the Dīpamkara Buddha, with the exception that the right hand forms the semui-in, while the left hand, which in India was holding the stole, makes the segan-in. The right shoulder is generally uncovered.

Already, in India, Avalokiteśvara (Kannon) raises his right hand to reassure; his left hand is held at breast level. The *semui-in* serves at times to hold the rosary or the lotus, two common attributes of this divinity.⁵³ In India, according to Mallmann, no absolute rule governs the hand positions of Avalokiteśvara, but rather "a certain desire for balance." So, in

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general, in four-armed statues of Avalokitesvara, on each side one hand is raised and one lowered (segan-semui-in); more rarely, the two left hands are raised.54 On six-armed statues, the segan-semui-in compound is repeated after the example of the four-armed statues; sometimes on one side the three hands are raised and on the other they are lowered. A variant of this arrangement may be observed: one right hand raised, the other two lowered, or two left hands raised, one lowered, or vice versa. But, writes Mallmann, "the number of arms, odd on each side, was to make the task (of balancing these statues) particularly difficult. Perhaps this reason hastened the abandonment of six-armed forms." 55 The oldest gesture attributed to Avalokiteśvara, the semui-in, appears as early as the Kuṣāna art of Mathurā,56 and a close association may be noted between the idea of the gift of fearlessness and this divinity.⁵⁷ This relationship is borne out by the Lotus of the Good Law: "Therefore then, young man of good family, honour the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara. The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, young man of good family, affords safety to those who are in anxiety. On that account one calls him in this Saha-world Abhayandada (i.e., Giver of Safety)." 58 The use of this gesture by Avalokiteśvara continues in Indian art - e.g., at Ajantā 59 and at Aurangābād (VII) 60-until the time of the Pāla-Sena art of Bengal; but the varamudrā (segan-in) tends gradually to replace it.

Kannon, in the older statues of Japan (as early as the Suiko period), strikes two characteristic hand poses: that of the compound segan-semui-in (left and right hand), and that of the semui-in (right hand). In seated statues, the ankle of the right leg lies on the left knee, the left hand leaning on the right heel. Et al. These two positions will be replaced towards the X century, under T'ang-Sung influence, by the languishing attitude of the Chinese Bodhisattva. The compound gesture of the segan-semui-in appears in numerous statues of a rather primitive kind, while the seated attitude, although appearing in Suiko statues, forms to a certain extent a transition between the Kannon in semui-in and the Kannon in mahārāja-līlāsana. In Japan, at least, statues in which Kannon has both hands in semui-in are exceptionally rare. The Batō Kannon makes this mudrā with

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one of her hands: for example, in the statue of the Kanzeonji, 63 the left hand forms the *semui-in*, the index and the middle finger bent, the index in contact with the thumb. 64 Bikuchi, "she who frowns," one of the forms of Kannon in Esotericism, 65 makes the same gesture.

The semui-in is also a mudrā characteristic of Yakushi. In the Yakushinyorainenjugiki 65 is written: "The altar is decorated with diverse precious things, and in the middle is erected a statue of Yakushi Nyorai. The Tathāgata holds a bowl in his left hand: this is called muga-jū,67 priceless jewel. With the left hand the divinity forms the mudrā of the Three Worlds.68 (Yakushi) wears a monk's robe and is seated in padmāsana on a lotus throne." 69

The Yakushi of the Kondō (Tōdaiji) and of the Nara Yakushiji are in this position. As for the mudra, sometimes the ring finger is bent inward,70 sometimes this gesture shows the middle (or the index) and the thumb joined at the tips. In China, the right hand of certain T'ang representations, instead of making the semui-in, holds a sistrum (shakujō), and the left hand a bowl. Habitually, in the gesture of Yakushi, the thumb is inflected toward the palm, slightly bent, more rarely touching the middle finger: the ring finger and the little finger are very often curved in a supple and rhythmic gesture.71 With the other hand the divinity often holds a medicine jar,72 his particular attribute, but there are also numerous statues of the segan-semui-in type,73 for this compound gesture is not at all uncommon for Yakushi. The first representations of this deity in Japan show only the semui-in accompanied in the left hand either by the jar or by the segan-in. The position which, from the X century on, becomes very common in statues of this divinity - that of the jar resting on the joined hands in jo-in-is, nevertheless, posterior to that of the semui-in in statues of Yakushi.74

The semui-in is one of the most frequent gestures on statues of Amida; but oftentimes, in statues of this divinity too, one notes the compound gesture (segan-semui-in), 75 respectively in the left and the right hands. The semui-in as a gesture of Amida presents several variants 76 resembling the an-i-in or the kichijō-in, with the thumb touching the end

Esoteric variants and will be discussed subsequently. And, for Amida, the compound gesture segan-semui-in shows the thumb and the index (less often the middle finger) joined to form a circle. On older statues, the ends of the fingers do not touch, but on statues after the Suiko period, the thumb and the index often make a closed circle. The right hand is raised to shoulder level and the left hand lowered in front of the knees, the two palms turned outward. According to the Tetsugaku Jiten (Dictionary of Philosophic Terms), this would be termed the hosshin seppō-in or the mushofushi-in. It should be added, however, that according to certain authorities, the latter designation admits of different interpretations. In the present classification, it would appear more appropriate to consider these gestures under the heading of an-i-in, where, by their form at least, they seem to fall more naturally.

The compound gesture (segan-semui-in) is found on statues of Shakamuni; 79 of Roshana Buddha; 80 of Miroku (rarely); 81 of Monju; and of Jizō. The last divinity, from the IX to XII centuries, "appears with the precious pearl in the left hand" and the right hand in semui-in; "at the end of the XII century, he takes the form which is now most widespread, (with) the pearl in the left hand, the sistrum in the right hand." 82

In China, numerous Wei Buddhas, the identification of which remains sometimes uncertain, exhibit this hand gesture, which, under the Wei and the Sui, was by far the most common mudra.83

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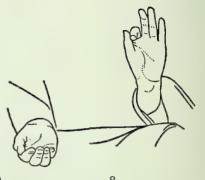
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3 Mudrā of appeasement

An-i-in 安慰印

CH. An-wei-yin

sk. (Vitarkamudrā,¹ vyākhyānamudrā²)



DEFORE THE AN-I-IN is considered in its Far Eastern context, a **D** few general remarks may help to establish the role of this gesture as a universal sign. Like the semui-in, the an-i-in would seem to support the theory that ritual, symbolic gestures originate in natural gestures. There are numerous examples of the presence of the an-i-in type in the Mediterranean world from ancient times until the present. Quintilian, for example, notes that "already in heroic times the Greeks had a fully developed system of significant gestures and a separate doctrine concerning their correct use: a chironomia, a lex gestus." 3 Among them figures the ani-i-in type. In representations of the classical stage, the actor is characterized by both the masks and this gesture.4 The same sign is present today in most Latin countries, where it may be seen universally used as a gesture of argumentation, the present-day users of which hardly suspecting they are following an ancient tradition sanctified by both time and literature.⁵ In the Christian tradition, the sign of the cross,⁶ the so-called benedictio latina,7 is a reflection of this earlier gesture in Christian iconography, although it should be noted that this same sign occurs in profane circles as well. In Christianity, this gesture would seem to accompany speech, just as it does in Buddhist tradition, and in Christian art the "scroll in the left hand contains the written speech; the gesture in the right one expresses the realization of the written in the living world." 8 The universal connection of this gesture with speech must modify both Christian and Buddhist thinking about it, for the Christ, who, like the Buddha, makes this gesture, should be considered not so much a bene-

dictory 9 or blessing figure as a speaking and teaching one. In Christianity as in Buddhism, the raised hand must have accompanied some kind of incantation. This would seem to be so, for example, in the case of the Buddha who raises his hand against the maddened elephant. "When men or heroes raise their right hands in this gesture against wild beasts, it is not the gesture itself, but the spoken word, the ritual or magic formula expressed in it, which gives them the upper hand." 10 The an-i-in prototype, then, seems inextricably connected with speech, in a religious as well as a profane context. Although there is an overlapping of use, the Buddha who makes this gesture would seem more to be engaged in the predication of the Law than in the blessing or quieting that the name an-i-in implies. Within the context of Christianity, l'Orange notes that "the speech gesture accordingly loses more and more of its original philosophical-discursive significance and becomes increasingly the sign of authority of the Christian dogma." 11 To a certain extent this tendency is present in Buddhist sculpture as well, and the relationship of word, logos, and this gesture is maintained when the an-i-in is used to represent the divine authority of the Law.

The an-i-in ¹² is formed in the following manner: the hand (right, generally) is raised, the palm outward, the fingers straight, with the exception of the thumb, which touches the end either of the inflected index or of the middle finger, sometimes even of the ring.¹³ This gesture may be confused with one of the semui-in forms, notably with the compound gesture segan-semui-in, in which the thumb and the index (or the middle finger) ¹⁴ touch, or are brought very close to each other. Rather diverse traditions are at the basis of the variety of forms that characterize this mudrā.¹⁵ According to Mochizuki, ¹⁶ this gesture should be made by both hands at the same time, held rather near to each other, the right hand raised, the left lowered: each one forms a closed circle by joining the index and the thumb. Yet iconographers maintain for the most part that this gesture is made with the thumb and the index joined to form a circle.

In India, the mudr \bar{a} the form of which corresponds to the an-i-in is called the $vitarkamudr\bar{a}$. It seems not to be the symbolic prototype of the

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Japanese an-i-in; it corresponds rather to the seppo-no-in, mudra of the exposition of the Law. Auboyer observes that the vitarkamudrā is formed "with the right hand raised, the thumb touching the index in a gesture of argumentation that the Indians still make mechanically during their conversations." 17 Foucher, 18 the Bukkyō Bijutsu Kōwa, 19 Mochizuki, 20 and the Shimbi Taikan II 21 make the same description. Rao names this gesture the chin-mudrā 22 or the vyākhyānamudrā.23 Certain authorities maintain that the gesture of exposition is formed by joining the thumb with the middle 24 or the index 25 fingers. Getty 26 asserts that there exists in Japan a "variant" of the an-i-in, which is called semui-in and which is formed by the fingers raised (vertically), the thumb bent over the palm. The only difference between these two gestures would lie, then, in the position of the index, which in the semui-in does not touch the end of the thumb. A definitive distinction between the semui-in and the an-i-in is, in fact, difficult to establish, for these two gestures may assume almost identical forms.27 This similarity inclines one to think that the an-i-in, at the beginning, may have been a form of semui-in in which the fingers were inflected, the thumb and the index somewhat brought together. The resemblance in form may have produced a contamination of symbolism by which the an-i-in came to express the idea of gift - not that of intrepidity (mu-i), but of tranquillity (an-i).28 Moreover, the notion of assurance implied by the semui-in presents an obvious affinity with that of tranquillity symbolized by the an-i-in. In the case of Avalokiteśvara (in Yunnan), Mallmann suggests that these two mudrā may have been "progressively confused; the notion of 'security' of the first transferring to the second, which, from a gesture of argumentation, may have become a gesture of 'consolation.' The fusion could have been effected, for example, in Ceylon,29 the intermediary stage between India proper and the outer Indian sphere; we know that there was venerated in this country an Avalokiteśvara protector of hospitals, Simhaladvīpe-ārogaśālā Lokanātha, an eminently benevolent divinity, whose gesture was doubtless meant to 'reassure' or to 'appease' the sick." 30 This evolution is certainly not belied in the sculpture of Japan, where the an-i-in preserves a clearly protecting character. In fact, the Soshicchigiki 31 calls this gesture the goshin-in, the mudrā of the protection of the body,32 and the Hachidaibosatsumandarakyō, describing Jizō Bosatsu (Kṣitigarbha), gives these indications: "The left hand reposing in the lap holds an alms bowl; the right hand with the palm inverted, turned downward, the thumb and the index joined, 'symbolizes' the (Bodhisattva's) thought of consoling all Beings." 33

By an arbitrary distinction, these two gestures may be differentiated to a certain extent. In the semui-in (hand raised) or segan-in (lowered), the habitual form is that of the palm presented outward, all the fingers extended vertically; sometimes the index and the thumb are brought a little together, more rarely do they touch. In the an-i-in (hand raised or, less frequently, lowered) the palm is often presented obliquely, and by the junction of the index or the middle finger with the thumb a closed circle is formed. But the identification of this last mudrā is made still more difficult by the existence of several gestures, of less importance perhaps, but which resemble it: the saṃdarśanamudrā, which presents the palm well forward; the uttarabodhimudrā (Waddell and Williams), the mudrā of supreme Enlightenment,³⁴ in which the index of each hand touches the end of the thumb, the two hands being held very near the breast and at the level of the heart. According to Waddell, it is the flexion of the thumb that differentiates this gesture from the semui-in.³⁵

9 An-i-shōshu-in

The designation an-i-shōshu-in (Ch. an-wei shê-ch'ü yin), the mudrā that "tranquillizes and collects," evolves from the notion of appeasement contained in the denomination an-i-in. The an-i-shōshu-in is formed by the two hands at the same time: the left hand makes the an-i-in, the thumb and the index forming a circle, while the right hand remains at the level of





the hip (in standing statues), the palm turned toward the outside, the fingers slightly inflected, but the thumb and the index separated.³⁶ Thus with the left hand the divinity appeases Sentient Beings, and with the right hand he gathers them together to protect them or to lead them into his (Amida's) paradise. While the Sanskrit vitarka puts the accent on the notion of argumentation, the Sino-Japanese designation of an-i-in or of an-i-shōshu-in ³⁷ emphasizes the idea of "consoling" all beings,³⁸ or of consoling and "gathering in" (shōshu,³⁹ Sk. parigraha) beings. "All beings who invoke the (name of the) Buddha Amitābha, having been gathered together, guarded, and cared for in the light of the Buddha Amitābha, will be saved and will not be abandoned." ⁴⁰

The an-i-in may be formed either with the right hand (the most IVT frequent form), or with the left, or with both hands at the same time. VIT There are various possible positions, if the gesture is made by each hand at the same time: (1) that which Waddell calls the uttarabodhi-the two 11a, b, chands in front of the breast, the palms oblique or facing each other (cf. Amida of the Zenrin-ji); (2) that in which one of the two hands is raised, IV] while the other remains in the lap, the palm up; 41 (3) that in which one 11d, e, f] hand is raised and one hand is lowered in the fashion of the segan-semui-in. In the second variant, the thumb and the index of the raised hand are joined, while in the hand lying in the lap the ends of the thumb and the middle finger touch. This position is characteristic of Amida and of Shakamuni.

The an-i-in is also called the $sepp\bar{o}-(no)-in$, the mudrā of the exposition of the Law. The $sepp\bar{o}-in$ corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit designation of vitarka (Sino-Jap. bitaka), the mudrā of argumentation. The term vitarka is glossed by the ideogram "jin," deliberation: the $vitarkamudr\bar{a}$ is consequently the gesture which indicates the exposition of the Law ($sepp\bar{o}$), the deliberation on the Doctrine. It is the mudrā of the Buddha who explains the Law to the faithful. It is very natural, then, to pass from the idea of instruction to that of teaching. Such a metamorphosis must have taken place as early as the Gandhāran school and have determined to some extent the character of the $vitarkamudr\bar{a}$ in

India. In Indian statues, until the IV-V centuries, the mudrā of the predication of the Law appears to be the most common: the left hand holds a corner of the stole, while the right hand is raised. This gesture was transmitted to China of the Northern Wei dynasty and hence into Japan with the passage of Buddhism into that country in the V-VI centuries. It is fitting then to recall that the tembōrin-in, the gesture of turning the wheel of the Law, as a mudrā which designates the predication of the Buddha, consists logically of two seppō-in, which are joined in front of the breast. It may even be said that despite their form, all the mudrā of Gandhāra tend to represent the predication of the Law (cf. tembōrin-in), 46 the signification of which would seem to underlie that of argumentation wherever the vitarkamudrā is represented.

The $sepp\bar{o}-in$ of the "Esoteric Amida" ⁴⁷ (Amida-butsu $sepp\bar{o}-in$), that is, the Amida of the Intermediate Class, may be noted to be actually a form of meditation mudrā $(j\bar{o}-in)$ in which the two hands are joined in the lap, the thumbs touching the index, middle, or ring fingers, thereby forming a circle. Either by separating the hands and raising them both in front of the breast, or by raising one and lowering the other in front of the body, the $j\bar{o}-in$ turns into two $sepp\bar{o}-in$. One may see in this relationship of forms a similar concatenation of symbolism, for after the Enlightenment, during which the Buddha sat in $j\bar{o}-in$, he began to preach, breaking from meditation into predication: in a like manner the $j\bar{o}-in$ breaks into the $sepp\bar{o}-in$.

The variant of the an-i-in formed by the joining of the thumb and the ring finger is called kichijō-in,⁴⁸ the mudrā of good fortune. This mudrā, characteristic of the goddess Kichijō-ten,⁴⁹ grants to the faithful the good fortune that the goddess symbolizes. The Daishoen'okushō (15) ⁵⁰ notes that "by kudoku ⁵¹ is meant Kichijō tennyo. In Sanskrit she is called Mahāśrī (makashiri). Mahā means great. Śrī has two meanings: merit (kudoku) and good fortune (kichijō)." When this mudrā is shown on statues of Shakamuni, it is called kichijō-in, the mudrā of good fortune or of joy, because by it the world to which the Buddha explains his Law rejoices (cf. chi-kichijō-in, infra).⁵²

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10 Kichijō-in

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It may be mentioned, in passing, that sometimes the divinity holds flowers, clasping the stem between the thumb and the index finger. The hand assumes a form not unlike the an-i-in, a position which is called jike-no-in, the gesture of holding flowers. In the strict sense, though, this may be considered not an actual hand gesture nor, for that matter, the bearer of any sort of Esoteric symbolism. Mention is made of it here because in Japanese reference works it does have a specific designation, rather than because it resembles certain forms of an-i-in. Such, however, is not quite the case of the koshin gasshō,53 which is made by bending the thumb and index until they meet, forming a shape like the conch shell. This gesture, called both shōgan-in and kichijō-hora-no-in, has a certain symbolic relationship with the an-i-in. It is said that by making it, the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas call all Beings—the hora or conch shell being used to summon the faithful by its sound—who subsequently hear the predication and attain nirvāṇa.

It is not altogether inappropriate to place the above designations under the an-i-in or rather the seppō-in heading. Yet it must be borne in mind, particularly in the case of the union of different fingers with the thumb, that the mudrā of exposition, according to the Esoteric system of classifying the gods, is sometimes used to indicate the rank ⁵⁴ of certain divinities. It follows then that the idea of exposition must necessarily pass onto a secondary plane.

SYMBOLISM

The circle formed by the thumb and the index, a complete form, having neither beginning nor end, is that of perfection; it resembles the Law of the Buddha, which is perfect and eternal. It is very certainly here a question of a mudrā form which recalls the Wheel, one of the attributes which symbolize traditionally the predication of the Law or the teaching of the Doctrine. In Tibet, the "circle" formed by the thumb and another finger is sometimes called "the triangular pose," 55 the mystical gesture of the Tārās or the eight Bodhisattvas. 56 In Esotericism (cf. diag. I),

the gesture is liable to an extended interpretation: ⁵⁷ the circle of perfection represents the exercise of the perfect wisdom of the Buddha, and the accomplishment of his vows. The gesture also expresses his great compassion. The left hand represents concentration; the thumb, which corresponds to vacuity and symbolizes superior intelligence, unites with the middle finger, which corresponds to fire and symbolizes the vows of the Buddha. The right hand represents wisdom; the thumb, which corresponds to meditation, unites with the index, which corresponds to air and symbolizes the efforts of the Buddha. The act of joining the thumb and the index is symbolical of the diligence and the reflection which the Buddha brings to his function (of Enlightened One).

[Diag. I

In India, the vitarkamudrā is a gesture of argumentation or teaching: consequently, it is a mudrā used particularly by Buddhas. In Japan, the seppō-in, mudrā of the exposition of the Law, is attributed to Shakamuni 58 and to Amida. 59 This latter Buddha, according to the Hobogirin, 60 strikes the mushofushi-in, also known as the (hosshin) seppō-in, which resembles, in fact, the compound mudra, segan-semui-in. "It (the seppo-in) is the seal of the third of the nine Amidas of the nine classes. 61 . . . It is frequent in standing statues of Amida, notably in the sects Jodo, Shin, Tendai, etc. The right hand, which is raised, indicates the search for the Awakening, and its five fingers represent the Worlds of Auditors, Buddhas-for-self, Bodhisattvas, Exoteric Buddhas, and Esoteric Buddhas. The left hand, which is pendent, symbolizes the conversion of Beings, its five fingers representing the worlds of men, gods, dead, animals, and infernal (beings)." 62 It has already been noted in the Introduction that the mudra are liable, especially in the rites, to variable designations. And the mushofushi-in may, in fact, designate quite another mudra, that which is peculiar to (taizōkai) Dainichi and which will be treated under the heading of mushofushi-in.

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[11d, e, f]

Actually, a form of the an-i-in may represent six of the nine Esoteric Amidas—namely, the Amidas of the so-called Middle and Lower Classes.

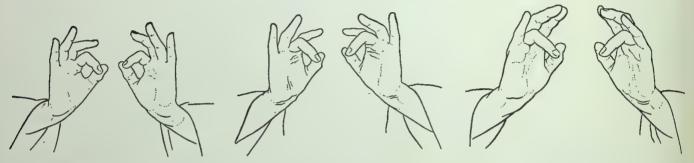
Middle Class: Lower Life is represented by the two hands held in front of the breast, each one forming the an-i-in, while the ring fingers and

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- thumbs touch to form mystic circles. Middle Class: Middle Life is represented by the same disposition of the hands but the middle fingers and the
- thumbs joined. Middle Class: Upper Life shows also the same disposition of the hands, the an-i-in being formed by the indexes and the thumbs.
- 11d] Lower Class: Lower Life is represented by the right hand raised to

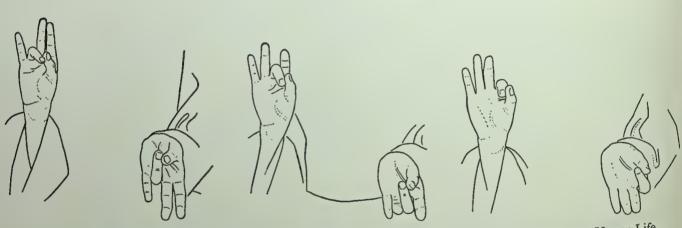
11 AMIDAS OF THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES



a Middle Class: Lower Life

b Middle Class: Middle Life

c Middle Class: Upper Life



d Lower Class: Lower Life

e Lower Class: Middle Life

f Lower Class: Upper Life

shoulder level the left hand reposing on the left knee, palm upward. Each hand makes the an-i-in with the ring finger and the thumb. Lower Class:

Middle Life shows the same disposition of the hands, while the an-i-in is formed by the middle fingers and the thumbs. The same disposition of the hands obtains for Lower Class: Upper Life, but here the an-i-in is formed by the indexes and the thumbs. This mudrā signifies the descent of Amida on the earth to seek the souls of the dead, and is one of the most frequently represented forms of Amida. The remaining three gestures of the Esoteric

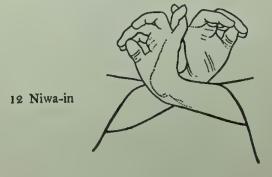
Amida are properly meditation mudrā and will be treated subsequently under the heading of $j\bar{o}$ -in (see p. 87).

By the an-i-shōshu-in, Raigo Amida welcomes souls into paradise: this is the hand which gives and which welcomes. In statues of Raigo Amida, this gesture is called the raigo-in, "gesture of welcoming to paradise." The gesture may be made with one hand alone, or, as in the case of the Yamagoshi-no-Amida of the Konkaikōmyō-ji, both hands may be held in front of the breast.

The an-i-seppō-in is characteristic of several secondary divinities: 64 Kannon,65 Miroku 66 and Brahmā 67 as a Buddhist divinity. Yakushi 68 sometimes makes the gesture of the an-i-in by joining the thumb and the index or sometimes the ring finger. 69 It is probably here a question of a gesture that bears some relationship to the semui-in, which is more characteristic of this Buddha. Monju also makes this gesture with his left hand, by joining the middle finger and the thumb. 70 A type of an-i-in is a characteristic gesture of Tibetan Tārās. Here the left hand is held vertically in front of the breast while the right is placed below it. Both hands present the palms out, indexes and thumbs joined. Last of all, a gesture deriving, it would seem, from the an-i-in 71 may be noted. It is the one made by placing the two hands back to back and joining the thumb with the middle finger of each hand. The little fingers are interlocked, and the index fingers are vertical. This mudra is called the niwain, the gesture of the two wings (i.e., hands), and is typical of Gozanze Myō-ō (Sk. Trailokyavijayarāja), Subduer of the Three Worlds.

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4 The diamond handclasp

Kongō-gasshō 全剛合掌

CH. Chin-kang ho-chang

sk. Vajra-añjalikarmamudrā, Añjalimudrā



4-7]

4-17

THE KONGŌ-GASSHŌ¹ is formed by joining the hands, which are held vertically at the level of the breast, palm against palm, fingers against fingers, interlocked at the tips, the right thumb covering the left. In the kenji(sshin)-gasshō the hands are simply joined. The arms may be somewhat advanced. The Dainichikyōsho² describes this gesture thus: "The tips of the fingers are interlocked. All the fingers of the right hand repose on the corresponding fingers of the left hand. This is the kongō-

gasshō,3 (also) called the kimyō-gasshō. (The transcription of) the San-

skrit is haranama-gasshō.'' 4

The kongō-gasshō resembles very much the mudrā of supplication called the shashu-gasshō,⁵ and, according to certain authorities, only the position of the crossed fingertips differentiates them. For example, the kongō-gasshō has the thumbs and fingertips interlocked, but in the sammaya-kai—that is, rules to be observed before full ordination into Esoteric sects—the thumbs are interlocked but the fingers not.⁶ Because of their common signification and their similarity of composition, these several gestures will be treated under the same heading.⁷ It may be noted here that the designations kimyō-gasshō and kongō-gasshō are equivalent, for the Gyōbōkanyōshō ³ (I) notes: ". . . At the moment of worshiping the divinity, the kongō-gasshō is made; that is to say, the kimyō-gasshō. The meaning of the interlocked fingers is that the ten fingers represent the Ten Perfections (haramitsu) and the Ten Worlds of Essence (hokkai, dharmadhātu)." ⁹



14 Kimyō-gasshō

The kongō-gasshō also resembles very much the kenjisshin-gasshō (cf. Fig. 4–1: the Twelve Handclasps), but according to Mochizuki, the first shows the fingers crossed, while the second shows the hands joined in a simple attitude of prayer.

SYMBOLISM

These gestures, which ritual as well as iconographic usage tends to relate, are mudrā of adoration. As such they enjoy a common meaning. As a gesture of adoration—the hands are joined (gasshō) to honor the Law 11—the kongō-gasshō may derive from Hindu etiquette, in which it is a gesture of offering, of adoration, and of salutation. In Hindu dancing, the performer generally forms this mudrā at the end of each presentation in order to indicate that his dance has been an "offering" intended for the pleasure of the spectator. In Buddhism this gesture serves to give homage to divinities accompanying offerings or prayers, and reveals thereby the influence of the old Hindu usage. In India, be it with Brahmā teaching the Veda or in early Buddhist sculpture, 12 this gesture preserves the same use, which is universally prevalent in countries of Buddhist obedience. The hands are joined under the mouth in order to give homage to the Words emitted by it; hence the gesture honors the Buddha and the Law.

The designation kongō-gasshō, as a gesture formed by the union of the two hands, recalls the co-existence of the two inseparable worlds, which are really one: the kongōkai, the Diamond World (Sk. vajradhātu), and the taizōkai, the Matrix World (Sk. garbhadhātu). These two worlds are the expression of two aspects of one cosmic life and represent the reciprocal action of the spiritual and the material, the static and the dynamic. On the other hand, the kongō-gasshō 13 as a simple gesture symbolizes the world of ideas (kongōkai), which, like the diamond (kongō), is indestructible, eternal, static. The symbol of the diamond represents hardness and utility, indestructible truth, and the action of knowledge. Like qualities are emphasized by another designation, kenjisshin-gasshō, the joined hands of the inflexible, sincere heart. The counterpart of the

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kongōkai, that is, the Matrix World (taizōkai), which represents the perishable, the phenomenal, the material, is symbolized by the koshin-gasshō, the joined hands of the heart empty (of passions). As Smidt writes: "Since the kongō-gasshō and the koshin-gasshō play parallel roles, the first signifies the wisdom of the kongōkai and the second the knowledge of the taizōkai. The 'Empty Heart,' the space which exists between the two hands in this gesture, is the depository of the treasure of the Law, the precious receptacle of the Buddha nature which all Beings represent. The inflexible heart is so inflexibly closed that, between Sentient Beings and the Buddha, there is not even room for a hair. The 'Empty Heart' signifies that there is a way [Treppe] between the Buddha and Sentient Beings. Since the Jōdo sect believes that we will be saved by the great Compassion of Amida, this sect [especially] has recourse to the koshin-gasshō." 14

In these gestures of adoration, the union of the right hand (world of the Buddha) with the left hand (world of Beings) represents the fundamental unity which exists between the kongōkai and the taizōkai. This unity is a representation of the Esoteric principle of duality-non-duality. The hands are in fact two; but they are joined to form only one unit, a unity, moreover, parallel to that which exists between the Buddha and Beings. This notion is reflected in the kenjisshin(-gasshō), which is a gesture utilized by the Zen sect: just as the two palms are held firmly closed against each other, in the same manner the Zen adept focuses himself in interior contemplation. Thus is explained the phrase jikishininshinkenshōjōbutsu, "directly to attain the human heart (while rejecting all literary aid), perceiving one's (fundamental) nature, and becoming Buddha." 15

The designation shashu-gasshō evokes, by the crossing of the ten fingers, the union of the Ten Perfections (haramitsu) (cf. Intro., supra) and the Ten hokkai (dharmadhātu). The denomination of kimyō-gasshō, the gesture used at the moment of worshiping the divinity, hence the gesture of prayer, admits of three significations as declarations of faith:

- 1 To take refuge in the Buddha.
- 2 To submit to the Law of the Buddha.
- 3 To reduce the basis for life (myōkon to its origin [in the heart]).

The kongō-gasshō is a gesture of adoration, a gesture which gives honor to a superior state. Consequently it is never represented on a statue of the Buddha. It is a gesture which belongs rather to Bodhisattvas and to lesser personages (Guardian Kings, holy men, etc.), who give homage either to the Buddha or to the Doctrine. It is seen on statues of multiple-armed Kannon.18 By separating the middle three fingers, the kenjisshin-gassho becomes one of the characteristic gestures of this divinity, the mifu renge-in, the gesture of the unopened lotus. According to the Himitsunembutsushö,19 Kannon holds an unopened lotus in her hand. The meaning here is that she has the power to make the flower open, in other words, to propagate the Law to all things and to cause them to benefit by her universal compassion. Mallmann notes the use of this gesture with (Şadakşara-)Lokeśvara in India, who, on the example of Brahmā teaching the Veda, forms it to worship the six-syllable formula, "om mani padme hūm." 20 But in Japan, as in India, Kannon with two arms does not form the kongō-gasshō.21 This mudrā is also to be found on statues of the Myō-ō ("Knowledge Kings"), holy personages,22 donors, and Bodhisattvas.23

ΓVII

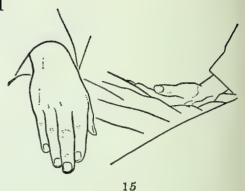
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5 Mudrā of touching the ground

Sokuchi-in 觸地印

CH. Ch'u-ti-yin

sk. Bhūmisparśamudrā 1



THE SOKUCHI-IN, a gesture of the right hand, is peculiar to seated statues.² It is formed by presenting the hand pendent in front of the right knee with the palm turned inward,³ the fingers extended downward touching or "designating" the ground.⁴ Sometimes the lowered hand rests on the right knee. Sometimes it remains a little away from the knee, while the left hand holds a section of the stole ⁵ at the level of the breast or lies in the lap, where it may form the so-called Diamond Fist (kongō ken-in ⁶). The left hand may also lie on the left knee or at the level of the



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16 Sokuchi-in (variant)

navel. This gesture in Japan is the same as its prototype, the $bh\bar{u}mispar\acute{s}a-mudr\bar{a}$, of the Gandhāran school.

The sokuchi-in is characteristic of seated statues, but there is another gesture which iconographically and symbolically is akin to it; this is the anzan-in (Ch. an-shan-yin), "the gesture which represses the mountain," a mudrā often found in standing statues. The gesture is regularly formed by the left hand, but sometimes it is made by the right as well. The arm is lowered in the fashion of the sokuchi-in, the wrist is flexed in such a way as to present the palm of the hand more or less parallel to the ground—not unlike a natural gesture of suppressing. It is, in fact, the mudrā which signifies the "subjugation of the mountain" (the earth).

To the extent that this mudrā symbolizes the victory over the demons, it has the same meaning as the *sokuchi-in*. This community of meaning would seem to justify the study of these two gestures under the same heading.

17 Anzan-in

SYMBOLISM

The sokuchi-in is known under several designations, which are connected with the symbolism attributed to this gesture. This symbolism doubtlessly finds its origin in the following legend: At the moment when the historical Buddha was on the point of proving his Buddha perfection, the gods of the earth warned him that he would be attacked by demons. But the Buddha calmed them, saying that he would suppress these evildoing gods by his power alone; that is, by his bodhi knowledge. At this point the demon king appeared and challenged him to put his words into action. The Buddha, pointing to the ground with his finger, called upon the gods of the earth, who rose up and killed the demons.9 Other versions describe the Buddha seated in padmāsana under the bodhi tree and touching the earth; whence the term soku-chi, "touching the earth." Sakyamuni remains unshakable by virtue of his former merits and his boundless kindness (maitrī). Māra (compare with Rāvaņa, Bali, etc., in Brahmanism), following the defeat of his demon army, nevertheless presses his claim for the bodhi throne. He calls upon his troops as witnesses. The Buddha, without supporters, takes Earth as his witness by touching the ground. Whereupon, personified, Earth, trembling in six ways, proclaims the Buddha the rightful occupant of the bodhi throne. Still another version has the Buddha making this gesture as a sign of generosity when he was born as Vessantara. 98 Some designations put stress on the dramatic episode of the demons; thus, goma-in 10 signifies the subjugation of the demons; 11 hama-in, the mudra of the defeat of Mara, 12 the demon king who flung his malevolent legions against the Buddha;

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nometsubinayaka-in, mudrā of the annihilation of the Vināyakas; ¹³ saifuku-shoma-in, ¹⁴ mudrā of the suppression of all the demons, the mudrā by the aid of which Shakamuni must have turned the demons, symbols of evil, to rout at the crucial moment of the final enlightenment. The position of the hand in the so-called anzan-in recalls the moment in which the Buddha repulsed the demons.

Another aspect of this gesture relates the historical Buddha's long preparation for enlightenment. According to Conze: "He points to the earth as his witness, and the deity of the earth rises out of the ground, to confirm his statement. She also bore witness to the fact that Sākyamuni had fulfilled the complete discipline and duty of a Bodhisattva. This parable hides a deep spiritual truth. Māra, who corresponds to Satan, is the Lord of this world and of this earth. He claims therefore that the Bodhisattva, representing that which is beyond this world and irredeemably hostile to it, has no right even to the piece of ground on which he is seated in meditation. The Bodhisattva, on the other hand, claims that through his innumerable deeds of self-sacrifice in his former lives, he has won a right to this little bit of earth." ¹⁵

The kyōhacchijin-in, the gesture of surprising the gods of the earth, finds its origin in the version of the legend according to which Shakamuni, arriving at the state of Buddhahood, surprised (kyōhatsu) the gods of the earth and obliged them to swear him eternal fidelity. As a result, this gesture symbolizes the decisive moment of the Enlightenment of the Buddha, a moment pregnant with meaning, for it is the instant in which Shakamuni ceases to be a Bodhisattva and becomes the Buddha. By the simultaneousness of his transformation, he incorporates the two states—Buddha and Bodhisattva—in one single instant. This metamorphosis recalls the superiority of the knowledge of the Buddha, which is pure bodhi perception and the means which enables the Enlightened One to triumph over the demons.

The term sokuchi signifies "touching the ground," and the preceding names all stem from the notion of "repressing" the evil which is symbolized by the demons. But the idea of the kyōhacchijin-in derives more

directly, perhaps, from the idea expressed by the Sanskrit bhūmisparśa, the act of calling the earth to witness. ¹⁶ The notion of witnessing is related to the episode of the aforementioned legend, in which Gautama Buddha asks the earth to witness his temptation by the demon king, Māra, or of the unshakable resolution ¹⁷ of the Buddha to renounce the world. ¹⁸ Thus, the kyōhacchijin-in symbolizes the defeat of the demon army. ¹⁹

There remain to be noted such designations as *shichi-in*, a gesture which indicates the earth—this is the mudr \bar{a} which quiets the shock of the Enlightenment 20 —and the $n\bar{o}saibuku-in$, the mudr \bar{a} of bewitching. 21

The principal divinities which employ the sokuchi-in are Shakamuni and the Esoteric Ashuku Nyorai (Akṣobhya). In the Gandhāran school, the sokuchi-in refers to the scene of the Buddha's Enlightenment and to the subjugation of the demons. Sirén writes: "This gesture alone, among all the gestures, is a distinctive sign of Śākyamuni; the other gestures may be of a common use with several Buddhas." ²² In Esotericism, the mudrā of "touching the earth," as one of the "act seals" of the five Buddhas (gobutsu komma-in), pertains to Ashuku, ²³ for whom it constitutes the principal iconographic characteristic. "With his right hand, he extends the five fingers and 'represses' the earth: the five fingers of the left hand hold a section of the stole (kesa)" ²⁴ at the level of the breast. ²⁵ As an attribute of (kongōkai) Ashuku, the mudrā is called ashuku-in or shichi-in, and symbolizes the suppression of the demon army. Gonda observes that Ashuku holds the kesa with his left hand, but sometimes he forms the kongō ken-in, ²⁶ Diamond Fist, with the left hand, which then lies in his lap.

(Taizōkai) Tenkuraion Nyorai ²⁷ also makes this gesture, for it may be noted that "a tradition identifies to the Buddha Akṣobhya of the Diamond World the Buddha Divyadundubhimeghanirghoṣa (Tenkuraion) of the Matrix World." ²⁸ And sometimes it is associated with Hōshō (East).²⁹

Although this mudrā as a gesture characteristic of the Buddha Amida seems to be extremely rare, if not entirely absent, from Japanese sculpture, one may, nevertheless, note continental examples which would

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SOKUCHI-IN

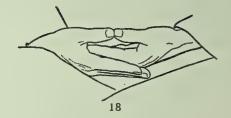
support the notion of an iconographic confusion in Korea (and in China).³⁰ Here again, as in the case of the *temborin-in*, the artistic tradition differs from that of the texts. Amida, in certain cases, appears to have assigned himself this gesture, which, however, must be considered most characteristic of Shakamuni.

6 Mudra of concentration

Jō-in 定印

CH. Ting-yin

sk. Dhyānamudrā 1

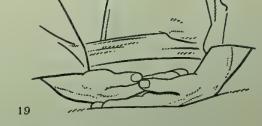


The Jō-IN, or "gestures of concentration," 2 reflect diverse traditions, which have led to a variety of designations 3 and forms. It is possible, however, to bring out the general lines discernible in the $j\bar{o}$ -in and to impose a certain amount of order on them, without attempting to make a definitive system of classification. This somewhat arbitrary approach is taken in order to give the student of Buddhist iconography a more or less comprehensive picture, from which he can note those details which interest him.

The $j\bar{o}$ -in is a mudrā universally peculiar to seated statues. The most common position or "attitude" (cf. $\bar{a}sana$) is that which is called kekka fuza: the legs are folded so that the right foot rests, sole upward, against the left thigh, the left foot likewise against the right thigh (cf. $padm\bar{a}-sana$). In order to facilitate the classification and the symbolic interpretation, it is possible to divide all the $j\bar{o}$ -in of Japanese sculpture into three general categories. For the convenience of this exposition, the mudrā of concentration, according to their form, will be called Type A, Type B, and Type C.

TYPE A

The hands lie in the lap, one on top of the other, the palms up.



The $Sh\bar{o}shinjitsuky\bar{o}$ (II) thus describes Type A, the simplest form of $j\bar{o}$ -in: "First, the five fingers of the left hand are extended in front of the

navel, then the five extended fingers of the right hand are placed on those X] of the left." ⁵ In Type A, the position of the hands is characteristic; they are placed one on the other, flat, the right on the left, palm up; less frequently, the fingers are enmeshed. This is the Gandhāran dhyānamudrā.



This form of jo-in is found on Japanese statues especially in the VIII-X centuries, but after the X century it is less frequent than Types B and C.

Type A is frequently found in China in Wei sculpture.6

Two variants of Type A, although rare in Japan, may be placed under this heading: (1) the legs in padmāsana and the hands placed one on top of the other in inverted position and held parallel to the feet, the palms turned toward the body; ⁷ (2) the hands placed on top of each other, the palms up, and crossed at about a 45° angle, the right hand on the left hand or vice versa.

Type A, of Indian origin,⁸ spread throughout all parts of Asia of Buddhist obedience, notably China ⁹ and southeast Asia.¹⁰

TYPE B

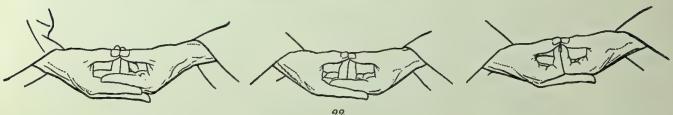
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The hands lie in the lap, one on the other, the palms up; the thumbs, extending toward each other, sometimes touch, or are raised to form a triangle 11 with the palms of the hands.



In the form of Type B which is probably oldest, the ends of the thumbs join over the fingers of the superposed hands. Absent or infrequent in India, this form is frequently seen on Chinese Wei statues, 12 and the first Japanese statues serve as indications of the passage of this type to

Japan. ¹³ The position in which the thumbs are slightly separated is probably a somewhat later one. ¹⁴ Most of the authorities in iconography maintain that this gesture is made by placing the right hand on the left, ¹⁵ as in Type A, but several examples exist in which the left hand is placed on the right. Doubtless it is a question here of a simple lack of iconographic precision. Some of the texts, which have a tendency to give rather general indications ¹⁶ for the gestures, do, however, show that the left hand should occupy the upper position. ¹⁷ Nevertheless, universally in India, the right hand is placed on the left.



TYPE C

The hands lie in the lap, one on the other, palms up. The last two phalanges of the indexes are in a vertical position and touch back to back. The thumbs join at the ends of the indexes forming thus two circles. 18

This type, which is later ¹⁹ than the other two, is frequently used in Japanese Esotericism, especially in statues of the so-called Esoteric Amida. It is not present in Indian sculpture. It has three aspects, characterized by circles formed with the thumbs and indexes, middle fingers, and ring fingers. Each aspect stands for a specific rank in the Amida hierarchy.

SYMBOLISM

The symbolism of the $j\bar{o}$ -in is closely associated with the Indian concept of $sam\bar{a}dhi$ (sammaji): the complete absorption of thought by intense contemplation of a single object of meditation,²⁰ in such a way that the bonds relating the mental faculties to so-called "real phenomena" are broken, and the worshiper is thus enabled to identify himself with the Supreme Unity ²¹ through a sort of super-intellectual raptus. Two cate-

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gories of thought processes fall under the heading of samādhi: the sanjō, or "scattered meditation," exercised under the influence of the World of Desire, characterizes the ordinary fashion of thinking; and the zenjō, or "ecstatic meditation," 22 exercised in the World Beyond Forms. 23 This latter type is one of the attributes of the Essence Body (hosshin), a state which implies absolute calm, impassivity, tranquillity, wherein one is "exempt from exterior sensations." In the jō-in, the position of the hands (especially in Types A and B but also in Type C) is that of the adepts of yogic contemplation. Thus the jō-in symbolizes specifically zenjō, ecstatic thought (N.B. the designation zen-in), for it is the gesture which indicates the suppression of all spiritual disquiet in order to arrive finally at the complete concentration on the truth.

The position of the hands in the mudra of concentration derives, in accordance with the tradition, from the attitude which the historical Buddha assumed when he devoted himself to final meditation under the bodhi tree. This is the attitude he was found in when the demon armies of Mara attacked him. He was to alter it only when he called the earth to witness, at the moment of his triumph over the demons (cf. sokuchi-in). Consequently, in the Gandharan school, the position symbolizes specifically the supreme meditation of the historical Buddha, but also the Buddhist qualities of tranquillity, impassivity, and superiority.24 According to a variant of this legend, the Buddha as Liberator of the Naga 25 is symbolized by the $j\bar{o}$ -in $(dhy\bar{a}namudr\bar{a})$ or by the $uttarabodhimudr\bar{a}^{26}$ (renge-in, mudrā of the Lotus). The mudrā of concentration under the designation of zen-in also serves as a gesture peculiar to the Buddha Fukūjōju (Amoghasiddhi), who, in India, is represented in the position of meditation and protected by the serpent Mucilinda. As early as the art of Amarāvatī, however, the hand of this divinity is raised to make the abhayamudrā (semui-in), which subsequently becomes the characteristic gesture of Amoghasiddhi.27

It will be noted that the junction of the thumbs, in the position of the hands joined in the lap, especially in Type B, takes on the aspect of a triangle. This mystic triangle (trikona) is associated closely to the one

which is constituted by the straight torso and the legs of the statue seated in padmāsana. The triangle symbolizes both the tri-ratna (Buddha, doctrine, community) and, according to the beliefs of certain sects, the yoni, womb-source of all things. The symbolic value of the triangle may be found to originate in the words of the Buddha himself. The Supreme One spoke about the symbol of Self by using three points, ..., arranged in the form of a triangle resting on its base. This geometric form was used to symbolize the embodied aspect of the Tathāgata. The symbolism of the triangle "seal" extends far back into the history of Buddhism. As Steinilber-Oberlin writes: "According to an ancient translation brought back from India, and adopted by Buddhism, the Body of Fire is triangular. So the Seal of Hokai-Chō consists in forming a triangle by joining the tips of the two extended forefingers, the other fingers remaining closed. It symbolizes the production of Fire, which must destroy all that is impure in the World of Law, and render the world sacred and saintly." 30

In Esotericism, the symbolism of the position of the hands shows considerable amplitude: the $j\bar{o}$ -in title signifies "the complete renouncement of the Buddha and his evasion from the chain of causality." ³¹ The zen haramitsu (dhyānapāramitā) is actually the fifth perfection, dhyāna or meditation, fifth of the Six Perfections which lead to nirvāṇa. It is thus the mudrā which symbolizes the crossing of the sea of life and death by means of "ecstatic concentration," to arrive at Extinction. The right hand, which symbolizes the World of the Buddha, reposes on the left hand, which symbolizes Sentient Beings. Together they emphasize not only the relative position which these two worlds occupy but also the fact that Buddha and Sentient Beings form one and the same unity.³²

The circle formed by the fingers in Type C means the perfection of the Law (compare with the circle-wheel of the Law), because, of course, the circle is a perfect form.³³ So in the hokkai jō-in, the single circle-like shape of this mudrā represents the universe. The formation of the two circles by the two hands representing, respectively, the world of the Buddhas and that of Sentient Beings, indicates that the Law conceived by the Buddha is sustained by Sentient Beings, who integrate themselves

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into it completely. The two juxtaposed circular shapes represent the accomplishment and the perfection of Buddhist Law in its relationship to all Beings. The right-hand circle symbolizes the divine law of the Buddha, the left-hand circle, the human law of the Buddha. Side by side, the circles symbolize the harmony of the two worlds, that of Sentient Beings and that of the Buddha. The fingers are entwined or superposed; those of the left hand represent the five elements of the world of Beings, and those of the right hand the five elements of the world of the Buddhas. Moreover, the fingers symbolize by their respective position the superiority of the world of the Buddha in its relation to the world of Sentient Beings. Also in those cases in which the left hand (Sentient Beings) is placed on the right (Buddha), the relative position of the two would symbolize that the world of the Buddhas sustains the world of Beings.

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The two circles of Type C also stand for the two aspects of cosmic unity; the Diamond World (kongōkai or vajradhātu) and the Matrix World (taizōkai or garbhadhātu). These circles are separated from each other because they are formed by two different hands. The circles are joined in this mudrā to constitute a single unity which symbolizes, by the forms and their juxtaposition, the double aspect of a single world, and the concept of All-One, the basic principle of Esotericism. The jō-in that indicate the two Worlds are often called hokkai jō-in, a designation which denotes the entrance into profound meditation on the World of Essence (hokkai). In fact, Zemmui states that in is actually a symbol of the (body of the) world of essence and that it is from this relationship that the hokkai jō-in derives its name.³⁵

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The mudrā of concentration are difficult to denominate and to classify in a completely precise fashion. For example, the different $j\bar{o}$ -in of $taiz\bar{o}kai$ Dainichi and of $taiz\bar{o}kai$ Amida change their names and their symbolism with slight differences of position of the fingers and of the hands. In order to succeed in distinguishing the principal variants, however, a somewhat arbitrary order may be imposed upon them. It may be seen that the $j\bar{o}$ -in let themselves be apportioned to three categories, 36 according to the nature of the divinities that make them, and their position in the maṇḍala.

Mudra of the Buddha Section

The hokkai jo-in, concentration mudra of the Dharma world, is associated with (taizōkai) Dainichi of the Matrix World, whence the name Dainichi jō-in.37 This denomination usually applies to Type B of the $j\bar{o}$ -in in which the thumbs are held level with the fingers. In the case of Dainichi of the Matrix World, the symbolism of the union of the two hands would be essentially the unity of the material and the spiritual. The hokkai jō-in is the counterpart of the chi ken-in, which characterizes the (kongōkai) Dainichi of the Diamond World.38 Together these two gestures represent the Six Essence Worlds (rokudai hokkai) of the two (taizōkai and kongōkai) Dainichi. Several texts officially establish the position of the jo-in for (taizokai) Dainichi; among others, the Sonshobucchōshuyugahōgiki and the Ryakushutsukyō(I),39 which indicate that the statue of the divinity should be in a seated position (kekka fuza) with the soles of the feet up. The two hands in hokkai jo-in 40 symbolize here the oneness of knowledge (chi) and of principle (ri).41 Thus Dainichi Nyorai is customarily seen seated in the middle of nine gods on an eightpetaled lotus throne: he makes the nyū jō-in or hokkai jō-in.42 It should be noted that the jo-in (that is, the hokkai jo-in), such as it is formed by Dainichi of the Matrix World, is distinctive in that the thumbs touch each other. Yakushi also on occasion makes the hokkai jō-in (Hokkaiji, Yamashiro): hands flat, tips of thumbs touching. This mudra is convenient for holding a medicine pot, the usual attribute of the divinity.

[21, XVI

[31, XIV

Jō-in of Amida,43 or Lotus Section Jō-in

Amida is perhaps the most important of all the divinities that display the $j\bar{o}$ -in. Consequently the $j\bar{o}$ -in of Amida are comprised of the variously named concentration mudrā formed by this Buddha. In the Amida concentration mudrā, the fingers are interlocked on the outside (gebaku), while the indexes of both hands touch the thumbs to form two circles. The rengebu-no- $j\bar{o}$ -in of Amida is also known under the name of $my\bar{o}kan$ -

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zacchi-in, mudrā of the Mirror Knowledge,44 a gesture denoting perspicacity, a particular virtue of Amida.45 This is "one of the five Knowledges of Vairocana (i.e., Amida from the point of view of equality, all Buddhas being equal), whose role it is to conduct Beings toward enlightenment by retrenching doubts relative to the predications of all Buddhas." 46 According to the Bukkyō Daijiten, this is one of the four Knowledges of the Exoteric Doctrine,47 the knowledge of the exposition of the Law through "perspicacity" (myokan), which vouchsafes the understanding of the whole teaching.48 The Tendai school gives of the myōkanzacchi another explanation according to which "myōkan" becomes the name of a triple system of meditation.49 The jo-in of Amida are known under other designations: 50 saishōsammai-in, mudrā of supreme meditation; rengebu jō-in, concentration mudrā of the lotus section; shiyui-in, mudrā of the mind at work; jūsammaji-in, mudrā of perseverance in meditation; josanranshin-in, mudrā of dispersing the disorders of the heart (in the toils of the passions of this world, in order to arrive at enlightenment); Mida jō-in,51 mudrā of concentration in Amida; rikitan jō-in, mudrā of concentration in the extreme strength (of the Buddha); and Muryojunyorai-in,52 mudrā of the Tathāgata Muryoju (i.e., Amida). The jo-in is the "act seal" of the five Buddhas (gobutsu komma-in, which corresponds to Amida in the Diamond World).

The mudrā of the Esoteric Amida, that is, the Amida of the nine classes, 53 are known as kuhon-in and serve to indicate the rank of the Amida in question. The $j\bar{o}-in$ are reserved for the Upper Class. For example, Upper Class: Lower Life presents the Type C $j\bar{o}-in$, in which the two raised ring fingers form with the thumbs two circles. The indexes and the middle fingers are entwined. Upper Class: Middle Life presents Type C $j\bar{o}-in$, in which the two erect middle fingers form with the thumbs the two circles, the other fingers being entwined. Upper Class: Upper Life also presents the Type C $j\bar{o}-in$, in which the two raised indexes form with the thumbs the two circles, the other fingers being entwined. Other mudrā designating the Amida of the nine classes were discussed above under an-i-in (see p. 74).

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Jo-in of the Diamond Section and others

The jo-in of the Kongo section is the baku jo-in, mudra of concentration on the bonds which attach Sentient Beings to the passions of the world; it is a characteristic gesture of Tenkurai Nyorai 54 and is regularly formed by interlocking the fingers (gebaku), letting the tips [19] of the two thumbs touch. While the three foregoing may be considered most important, there are other concentration mudra characterizing different mandala sections. Since they are essentially pictorial, they may be summarily mentioned. For the treasure section $(h\bar{o}-bu)$, Amida's jō-in is formed: the two indexes in contact with the thumbs make the circles characteristic of the Type C concentration mudrā. This gesture is called the samben hoju jo-in, "concentration mudra of the trilobate jewel" (q.v.). The kamma-in of the karma section is formed by interlocking the fingers (gebaku), letting the thumbs and little fingers touch at their tips. Despite the variety of forms and uses, among the above concentration mudrā, generally speaking, the hokkai jō-in symbolize the Womb World of Essence (taizō hokkai), while the kongō-bu jō-in symbolize the Diamond World of Essence (kongō hokkai). The concentration mudrā of the Buddha, Diamond, and Lotus sections are collectively known as the sambu jō-in, "concentration mudrā of the Three Sections." They apply to the taizokai, in which the images are enclosed in three circles. To these three are added two more: treasures and karma, which form the five circles of the kongōkai. The collective concentration mudrā of the Five Sections are hence called the gobu jo-in.

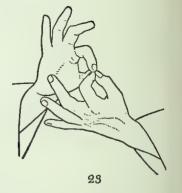
No one of these three groups of jo-in should be considered as being exclusively distinctive of the principal divinities mentioned above. Thus, numerous Buddhas,55 and Bodhisattvas.56 holy men, and sages 57 form the jo-in at times to recall the legend of the historical Buddha, at other times to invoke the Esoteric power of the gesture. The mudrā also symbolizes Zen meditation. Contrary to the sokuchi-in, which-in Gandhara-is peculiar to Sākyamuni, the jō-in, of ecclesiastic and secular use,58 is rarely sufficient to identify the personage who makes it.

7 Mudrā of turning the wheel of the Law

Tembōrin-in 轉法輪印

CH. Chuan-fa-lun-yin

SK. Dharmacakramudrā 1



XI]



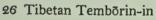
24 Ajanța Temborin-in

THE TEMBORIN-IN is characterized by a diversity of forms during I the course of its development across Asia. Even India offers a variety of aspects: in general, the right hand is held at the level of the breast, palm facing outward, while the index and the thumb, joined at the tips to form the mystic circle,2 touch one of the fingers of the left hand, whose palm is turned inward; such is the form manifest as early as Sārnāth.3 In a Buddhist fresco at Ajantā, the two hands are held in front of the breast, the left hand grasps a corner of the stole, and the right hand, whose index and thumb are touching, seems to press upon the little finger of the left hand.4 In another Ajanta example, the hands are held close together but do not touch. This type is reflected in the Horyūji Amida. In a work of Gandhara, the right hand, with the fingers rather close together and the palm turned inward, loosely envelops the joined

XII]



25 Gandhāran Temborin-in





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ends of the thumb and index of the left hand: the other fingers are negligently closed.5 Another form occurs in Tibet: the right hand is held erect in front of the breast, as in the an-i-in (index and thumb joined at the tips -cf. Fig. 9), the palm fully turned outward; the left hand with the palm turned toward the inside touches, with the ends of the thumb and the index (also in the form of an an-i-in), the mystic circle formed by the right hand. The left hand may either hide the right palm or be fixed on a slightly lower plane in such a fashion as to leave it exposed. This gesture, which exists in China in identical form, was said to have been transmitted

27 Höryüji Tembörin-in

there in the early T'ang dynasty through Hsüan-tsang and Wang Hsüan-t'se. A Japanese example is to be seen on the Hōryūji Amida. In Japan, these diverse Indian forms have favored the occurrence of several variants. The most common one very much resembles the corresponding Tibetan mudrā: the left hand forms the "mystic circle" by joining the middle finger and the thumb, the extremity of the index touches the joined ends of the thumb and index of the right hand, and the little finger of the left hand lies on the base of the right thumb. The index constitutes thus a symbolic bond between the two hands.⁸

It is fitting to note here another variant 9 of secondary importance. The hands are placed back to back, the left palm turned outward; the entwined fingers touch at their extremities, and the left thumb meets the right thumb on the right palm. This variant has not been noted in India, and even in Japan, 10 especially in sculpture, it is rare.

28 Temborin-in (variant)

SYMBOLISM

By virtue not only of its designation ("turning the wheel of the Law") but also of its form (the two circles recalling the aspect of the wheel), the Esoteric significance of this mudrā is based on the symbolism

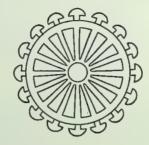
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TEMBÖRIN-IN

of the wheel.¹¹ This attribute, which may be appropriately classified under the heading of the gesture to which it is so closely associated, is charged with meaning since the earliest antiquity.¹² Before Buddhism, the wheel had doubtless already taken on with the Indo-Europeans a role emblematic of the sun and of fire.¹³ And so it is that in Buddhism Vairocana,¹⁴ who





29 Wheel: at right, from early coin

carries this attribute, marks his clearly solar nature; ¹⁵ he dissipates lies and error, just as the sun dissipates morning clouds. ¹⁶

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By virtue of a possible identification with the solar disk, the wheel comes to designate the course of the sun, the "revolution of the year: the incipience of its movement constituted then the primordial act of creation." ¹⁷ "In the sense that Time is the Sun," writes Coomaraswamy, "a circle is its centre, the Wheel represents the Sun, but more exactly the movement of the Sun, in his heavenly car, with one or two correlated wheels." ¹⁸ The solar character of this attribute in Buddhism is manifest as early as Bārhut and Amarāvatī. The Buddha is represented at both sites as the "sempiternal sun." ¹⁹

As a solar emblem, the wheel appears in a double form: that is to say, the two wheels of the solar chariot at once bound together and held away from each other by the same axle. It is the emblem of the world seen from two different but inseparable 20 points of view (in Shingon, the indivisibility of the taizōkai and the kongōkai). The sun lights the sky and the earth; in the same way the two wheels touch, one the heavens and the other the earth. The axle is identified with the cosmic axis, which at the same time separates and binds together these two points.²¹

Even in the pre-Buddhist period, the cakravartin ²² (cakra, "wheel"; vartin, "he who has the movement or who puts into movement"), the king who causes the wheel to turn, ²³ uses the wheel as a symbol or dis-

tinctive arm.24 Legend has it that at his investiture a golden wheel fell from the sky.25 The cakravartin is nevertheless inferior to the Buddha, who as dharmacakravartin, the one who causes the wheel of the Law to turn, conquers the world for Buddhism by universalizing the Doctrine. Thus the wheel presents a meaning of double aspect: that of destroying, and that of lighting-both deriving from pre-Buddhist notions. A close relationship may be established between the Buddha and the universal sovereign, for the Buddha as the all-powerful monarch is "he who puts the wheel in motion" (cakravartin), the wheel that, as it passes through the world, crushes 26 all evil, all error, all enemies of the Law. "There where it keeps itself is the unshakable place in which should reside such a sovereign, he who, by definition, is stable, firm, omnipresent, linked to the center of the universe from where he reigns." 27 Only he who sets the wheel in motion, who performs the creative act, may be a monarch reigning over the whole world. So the indestructible Wheel of the Cosmos illustrates the action of the Buddhist Doctrine, which crushes all illusion and all superstition, as the wheel crushes all it passes over.28 Wheel of protection, wheel of creation 29 such are its qualities as the arm of the universal sovereign. Moreover, the Praśna Upanisad adds: "On whom the parts stand fast, as it were spokes on the nave of the wheel, Him I deem the Person to be known." 30

Dr. Coomaraswamy gives a résumé of the rich symbolism of the wheel in Buddhist metaphysics: "Its dimensions are indefinite, its radius the variable distance between an undimensioned (amātra) point and an immeasurable (asankhya) circumference: there in the 'middle space' (antarikṣa, ākāśa), between the 'I' and the 'not-I,' essence and nature, lie procession and recession (pravṛtti, nivṛtti), there are good and evil (dharmādharmau), joy and sorrow (sukha, duḥkha), light and shade (chāyātapa), birth and death, all local movement and affection: and that motion and passibility are greater the greater the distance from the centre. Beyond the felly lies only the inexistence of the irrational, an impossibility of existence, as of square circles or the horns of a hare; within the nave, the non-existence of the supra-rational.

"The cycle of ego-consciousness," Coomaraswamy continues, "implies an outward movement from the nave to the ever-receding felly, and a return from the however distant felly to the unchanging centre. A progressive enlightenment (krama-mukti) can then be expressed as a gradual contraction of the radius, bringing the circumference ever closer to the centre, until that which seemed to enclose the point is seen to be contained within it, knowledge being thus con-centrated into a single form, which is the form of very different things. That is Nirvāṇa, unitary being, 'with residual existential elements,' and by a vanishment of the point becomes also Parinirvāṇa, without residuum of existence." 31

According to the legend, the historical Buddha is supposed to have transmitted the original design of the wheel to his disciples by tracing it with grains of rice gathered while he was teaching in a rice field.³² However it may be, before the representation of the historical Buddha in human form, the wheel, identifiable with the universal sovereign, figured in the place of the Buddha.³³ It was represented in the form of a "Principial Wheel" standing upon a universal terrain.³⁴ During the first centuries of the Christian era, at the time of the representation of the Buddha in human form, the wheel appeared some place on the Tathāgata's body or on the throne on which he was seated. It served to indicate the sermon of the Deer Park at Benares. The *dharmacakramudrā*, by assuming a part of the role of this aniconic attribute, symbolizes in iconographic representations this same episode of the Buddhist legend.³⁵

The wheel presents an affinity with the lotus. ³⁶ Represented at first in the form of a solar disk whose rays came to constitute the eight ³⁷ spokes of the Buddhist wheel, it demonstrates early a "decorative contamination with the red lotus (padma), whose cosmological value is doubled with a profound philosophical sense." ³⁸ Thus the lotus fully opened, also bearer of a clearly solar character, symbolizes the divine birth, the purity of the law. It is divided into eight petals, which indicate the eight cardinal points, the eightfold path, etc. In Japan, the rimbō ³⁹ of the Shingon sect—which displays a lotus in the guise of the nave, from which proceed eight rays—constitutes evidence, in this instance, of the fusion of these two

symbols.⁴⁰ The wheel and the lotus become, as it were, the "secret pivot of the world" around which the diverse constituents are disposed in symmetrical fashion. In India the wheel surmounting a pillar (cakrastambha) recalls the opened lotus at the top of its stem; ⁴¹ and in Nepal the Wheel of Vairocana is actually represented by the calyx of a lotus containing the procreating seeds of the flower.⁴²



30 Eight-spoke Rimbō

Buddhist art utilizes first the symbol of the wheel and then the temborin-in in order to recall the precise moment of the Buddhist legend at which the Buddha, having triumphed over the attacks of the evil demon, Māra, attains bodhi, and gives his first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares. This is the moment in which the Buddha puts into motion the wheel of the Law. In aniconic representations of the historical Buddha, the scene was symbolized with the help of a pillar surmounted by a wheel and flanked by two affronted deer. In iconographic representations, this same wheel persists, but appears now either traced on the body of the Buddha or held in his hands-one may cite numerous Buddhas in jo-in who hold on their joined hands an eight-spoke wheel 43 - or represented by the symbolic gesture of the temborin-in.44 This mudra appropriates for itself the symbolism of the wheel and acknowledges the omnipotence and the sovereignty of the Buddha by affirming his identification with a universal monarch. The temborin-in itself, whose form represents two juxtaposed wheels of the Law, recalls, in Esoteric symbolism, the "principial" unity of the taizokai and the kongokai and, according to the non-Tantric explanation, the Teaching of the Buddha and the dissemination of his Law. This gesture is also called the seppō-in, mudrā of the exposition of the Law. 45 The temborin-in symbolizes the destruction of human ills, as

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well as the constant progression of Buddhist doctrines which penetrate to all Beings and which, without limits, like the cosmic wheel, exist universally. This is a symbolism which accentuates the movement of the wheel, a continual movement of the Law which is constantly being transmitted to all Beings; it emphasizes the "incessant repetition of the fundamental moral doctrines of Buddhism." In the Japanese Esoteric sects, making this mudrā, accompanied by the right ritual words, may for the celebrant take the place "of all sermons, for no predication is more perfect than the Law." ⁴⁶

The temborin-in, according to the symbolism that has just been traced, is with one exception reserved to the exclusive use of the Buddhas; that exception is the Bodhisattva Miroku (Maitreya). Miroku as the future Buddha makes the temborin-in, for it is he who in time to come will turn the wheel of the Law. Thus in India this mudrā is associated with Maitreya, especially when he is seated on a throne, his legs pendent in front, in the so-called "European attitude," ⁴⁷ a characteristic position of this divinity.

The Buddha Shakamuni, as early as the Gandhāran school, uses the tembōrin-in to identify the legendary scene when, after the Illumination, he made his first sermon and exposed the Doctrine. It was at that time that he put into motion the wheel of the Law, which was to move throughout the universe, to crush the forces of evil, and to work for the salvation of Beings. Doubtless in Gandhāra, this gesture alone would have sufficed to recall the predication of the Law if the use of the mudrā had not been indeterminate at that time (cf. Introduction, pp. 43 ff.).

Before and after the introduction of Esotericism ⁴⁸ into Japan, the temborin-in is a gesture of the Buddha Amida. ⁴⁹ As a Buddha exposing the Doctrine, Amida makes the temborin-in, composed of two wheels of the Law. The circle formed by the thumb and the index of the left hand is that of Beings and represents the precept jogubodai: "on high to seek bodhi" ⁵⁰—"to aspire . . . toward divine knowledge, in order to reach the world of the Buddhas"; ⁵¹ consequently, the fingers of the left hand are erect. The circle formed by the thumb and the index of the right hand is

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that of the Buddhas and represents the precept *gekeshujō*: "below to convert all Beings (plunged into error)"—that is to say, seeking the salvation of Beings through the intermediary of the Buddha; ⁵² consequently, the fingers of the right hand are lowered.

The temborin-in which reflects the ancient symbolism of the wheel is associated also to Dainichi Nyorai and to Miroku.⁵³ The name of Dainichi Nyorai (= Great Solar Tathāgata) clearly illustrates the nature of this association. As the sun shines, Dainichi, as supreme Buddha,⁵⁴ in the center, dissipates by the light of his knowledge untruths and errors.

There remains to be noted the designation $\bar{o}jin$ -sepp \bar{o} -in, 55 which is also a mudrā of the predication of the Law. 56 This is a gesture characteristic of Shakamuni as predicator. It is also called chi- $kichij\bar{o}(no)in$. Shakamuni explaining the Law 57 makes with his right hand the (chi) $kichij\bar{o}$ -in, mudrā of the Felicity of Knowledge, for in propagating his doctrine, he delights the world. The left hand turned toward the interior represents the $naish\bar{o}$, "inner attestation," 58 and the right hand turned toward the outside, the $gey\bar{o}$, 59 "exterior use."

8 Mudrā of the Knowledge fist

Chi Ken-in。 智拳印

CH. Chih-ch'üan-yin

SK. Vajramudrā (?),¹ jñānamudrā (?),²

bodhaśrīmudrā (?)³



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THE STATUE (of Dainichi) 4 on which the chi ken-in figures is in a L seated position, the soles of the feet facing upward; this is the posture of interior concentration (padmāsana). To make this gesture, the right thumb is inflected onto the right palm, where it is enfolded and grasped by the other fingers so as to form a solid fist the center of which is the thumb. This fist is called the kenro kongo ken(-in),5 "adamantine, diamond fist" (cf. kongō ken-in). The left hand is held at the level of the navel,6 the palm turned toward the right; the raised index (i.e., the "Diamond Finger") 7 is inserted as far as the first joint 8 into the fist formed by the right hand, which is now superposed over the left. The left index is held by the right little finger. The right index is grasped at the first joint by the right thumb in such a way as to bend the index. This mudrā is called the bodaiindodaiichichi-in, "first Knowledge mudrā which conducts souls to enlightenment"; or the nometsumumyokokuan-in, "mudrā which is capable of suppressing darkness and spiritual shadows"; or the biroshananyoraidaimyōchi-in, "mudrā of the great and marvelous Knowledge of Vairocana" (cf. n.27). According to the Shugokokkaishudaranikyō (II): "Then the right hand is made into a diamond fist and held in front of the breast; [this right hand] grasps the left index. This is called nōyomujōbodaisaisonshō-in and is the sign of Vairocana, the original teacher." But all texts do not agree with this disposition of the hands. And according to the Kongōchōrengebushinnenjugiki: "Then the Diamond

Fist is formed and, in meditation (samāhita—in which both mind and body are concentrated), there are two [divisions]. The left Diamond Fist grasps the right index." 8a And the Shobutsukyōgaishōshinjitsukyō (II) notes: "Further, the tip of the right index contacts the end section of the right thumb; it is held in front of the breast. This is called the bodaiindōdaiichichi—in (the first Knowledge mudrā leading to enlightenment). . . . By means of this mudrā (by means of its kaji 9), the various Buddhas, on behalf of the adept, impart the sign of the surpassing samādhi of perfect enlightenment, that is, Vairocana's great and marvelous Knowledge mudrā." 10 In this gesture, both left and right hands form the Diamond Fist. The left is held in front of the breast, the index is extended and is grasped by the right fist. There are two traditions concerning this gesture, one being the foregoing and the other being that the left thumb is extended and is held in the right fist.

Since the chi ken-in is fundamentally an Esoteric gesture, it does not appear in Japan before the introduction of mikkyō (Esotericism), officially around the beginning of the IX century. In India the examples of this gesture, even after the codification of the Vajrayana, must be very rare: none have come to the attention of the present author. Certain authorities 11 maintain that the chi ken-in may have originated in the mudra of the predication of the Law, the temborin-in. As early as Gandhara, there existed several variations of the classic temborin-in - prototype of the gesture of the Amida Trinity in the Hōryūji 12 - which are sculpturally very close to the chi ken-in. By referring to Foucher's L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara (figs. 405, 426, 456, and 459), one may perceive the hypothetical evolution which, in Japan, is said to have ended in the chi ken-in.13 According to the present writer's opinion, however, such a theory is based on the erroneous assumption that this so-called "evolution of form" is in itself sufficient proof of the relationship between chi ken-in and temborin-in. The fact that any similarity in symbolic meaning is quite lacking should, it would seem, preclude such a hypothesis. Considering, too, that the formulation of new gestures must require no great imaginative effort or time, it is not hard to suppose that Esotericism simply created, as in so

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many other cases, a new gesture in order to express the metaphysical notions which were to be newly symbolized.

SYMBOLISM

This gesture is closely associated with Vairocana. According to Tantric symbolism, the *chi ken-in* emphasizes not the propagation of the Law on the example of the *temborin-in*, but the aspect of Knowledge (*chi*), the Knowledge of Vairocana as supreme divinity. Two different roles of this god are thus underlined by the use of these two gestures: the *temborin-in* is attributed to Vairocana as *dhyāni-Buddha* and the *chi ken-in* is attributed to him as Ādi-Buddha, for the Ādi-Buddha is said to have produced the *dhyāni-Buddha* by means of the activity of the Five Knowledges (*go chi*).

The chi ken-in is the mudrā of Dainichi in the kongōkai 16 (vajra-dhātu), "Diamond World." By reducing this gesture to its constituent elements, one finds that it is actually composed of two fists called kenrō

elements, one finds that it is actually composed of two fists called kenrō kongō ken-in, "adamantine, diamond fists," which symbolize the Diamond World, the spiritual World to which Knowledge (chi) belongs. But this Knowledge is militant, for it represents the power to destroy (cf. kongō, vajra) the passions of this world; it is also an intellectual force which gives the power to all Beings to attain to Buddha Knowledge; for, as the Hokkegisho notes: "Possessing a seal, a man enters a country in peace. If he does not possess a seal he may not enter. In like fashion, [by means of the chi ken-in] the Bodhisattva attains this concentration (sammai) [on Knowledge,] and comprehends reality." 17

According to the Esoteric symbolism of this gesture, the left index (World of Beings) is surrounded and protected by the fingers of the right hand (World of the Buddha[s]). The five fingers of the right hand represent the Five Elements of which man is composed: the little finger, earth; the ring finger, fire; the middle finger, water; the index, air; the thumb, void. The fingers symbolize also the rokusho (saḍāyatana), the gokon (pañcendriyāṇi); that is to say, the five organs of the senses, as roots (kon) of Knowledge, to which is added the sixth element, manas (men-

tal). The index of the left hand, which plays the role of the sixth finger, "represents the flame-symbol of Adi-Buddha, for the sixth element, the mind (manas), is a particle of his essence." 20 Thus the denomination "gesture of the Six Elements" 21 is intelligible: the six elements are the five which compose man plus the sixth,22 which is of the Buddha. The two hands symbolize the two inseparable worlds of the taizokai and the kongōkai, and are here connected by the left index,23 the diamond finger (kongōshi), which constitutes at once a bond between the hands and the way between the worlds. ". . . the fingers of the right hand clasp the forefinger of the left . . . the gesture symbolizes the unity of the cosmic and individual souls in the final spiritual enlightenment." 24 In the garbhadhātu (taizōkai) form, the two hands hold the dharmacakra, implying their distinction on the plane of operation. According to Getty, the kongōkai (Spiritual World) is represented by the raised left index, which joins the right hand, whose five fingers represent the taizokai (Matrix World). The two together symbolize the oneness of the spiritual and the material (worlds), the oneness of the cosmic soul and the individual soul, the oneness of Knowledge and Principle.25

A specific symbol of the Knowledge of the Buddha Dainichi of the kongōkai, this gesture is named daichi-in, "gesture of the Great Knowledge." By making this mudrā, the Buddha (or the celebrant who identifies himself with the Buddha) enters into possession of the chi-hokkai, "Essence World of Knowledge" (i.e., the Knowledge of all the Buddhas together). This is the knowledge peculiar to (kongōkai) Dainichi, the knowledge of the substantial nature of the dharma ²⁷ (hokkai taishō chi), which is symbolized by the chi ken-in.

Considered in Japan on a metaphysical plane as symbolic of the Knowledge of Dainichi or even of the Five Elements, this gesture—especially in Tibet, according to the śakti ²⁸ cult—takes on significance of a clearly sexual character. Thus it may be seen, through the erotic interpretation accorded this gesture, that Tantric ideas were subjected to strong non-Indian influences. As Conze says: "The erotic mysticism and the stress on the female principle owed much to the Dravidian stratum

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of Indian culture which, in the cult of the Village Goddess had kept alive the matriarchal traditions about the Mother-Goddess to a greater extent than the Vedic religion had done." ²⁹

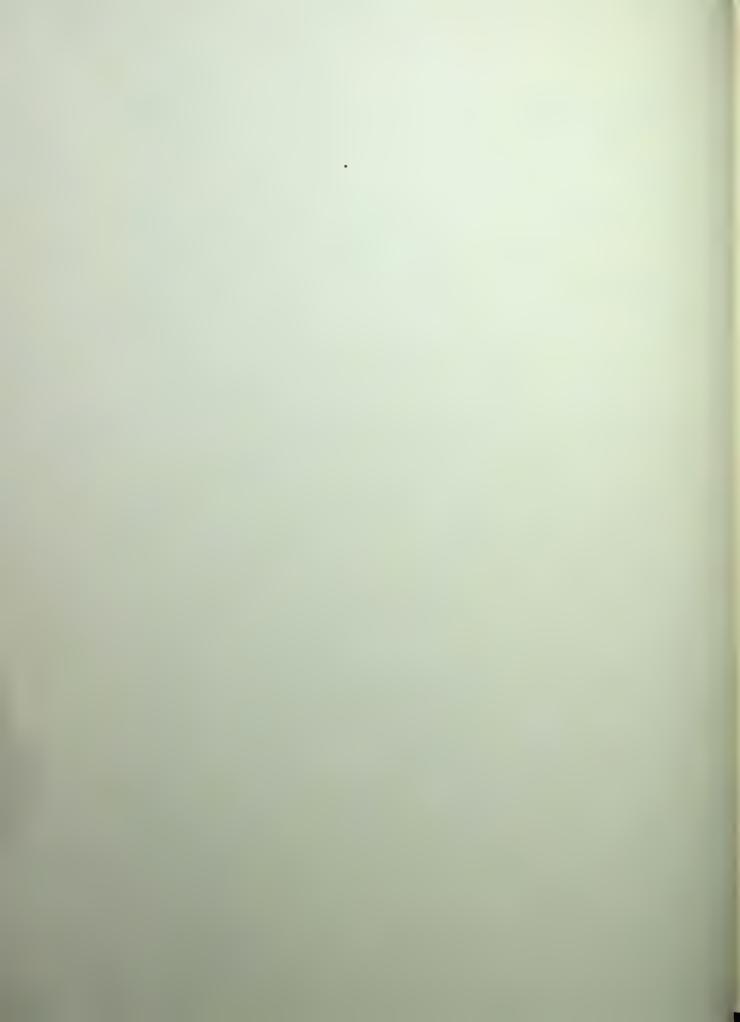
For Buddhism the procreative act is not in itself reprehensible; the union of the sexes is forbidden more precisely because it attaches the participants more firmly to life by nourishing passion and desires that Buddhism tries endlessly to annihilate. But in the unitary concept of Esotericism, the physical plane becomes involved in the metaphysical plane, and thus permits women to take a place in the religious pantheon in order to represent "divinely" the passions, on a high and spiritualized plane.30 While Buddhism in general was cognizant of feminine attitudes and did, in fact, incorporate them in numerous feminine deities, the relations existing between the masculine and the feminine principles were rather unemphasized. In Left-handed Tantrism, however, such as the Tibetan type, sexuality was introduced as a means to ultimate identification with the godhead. Such notions, it must be said, do not run at all contrary to Western thought. Modern psychologists, in fact, are of the opinion that sexuality may enter directly into the so-called mystical experience, and it is undeniable that even the most abstract metaphysical thought may contain references to or be directly influenced by the libido. Thus, as Conze points out, "the authors of the Prajnaparamitasutras were aware that the pursuit of perfect wisdom could easily assume the character of a love affair with the Absolute. The persistent elusiveness of perfect wisdom on its own would maintain interest to the end. We are, as a matter of fact, told explicitly that a Bodhisattva should think of perfect wisdom with the same intensity and exclusiveness with which a man thinks of a 'handsome, attractive, and beautiful woman' with whom he has made a date, but who is prevented from seeing him." 31

Now, in the chi ken-in, the left hand (Beings) symbolizes the masculine principle, Vairocana himself as procreator, making union with the feminine principle represented by the right hand. The sexual act is found to be endowed with metaphysical interpretations. It is thus that the chi ken-in symbolizes at once the abstract side of Mahāyānist inspi-

ration and the concrete side of the life of this world. It is the exalted expression of creation on the human plane and on the divine plane, the expression of an act fundamentally pure, without passion; for the supreme divinity himself accomplishes it.

Maraini comments: "An idea typical of the Tantras is that of the Energy which emanates from a god; it becomes something external and objective and ends by incarnating itself in a female body (śakti). Metaphysically, a śakti is the line of force according to which the One, the Absolute, differentiates itself and acts. A śakti is generally represented as engaged in a carnal embrace with the god who generated her and has become her mate. This orgiastic symbolism became enormously popular, and initiates read innumerable meanings into it. Perhaps the most widespread and best-known interpretation is that the male divinity represents karuṇā, compassion, while the female stands for prajāā, gnosis, or perfect knowledge. Gnosis means a lightning intuition of the truth which leads to liberation, but that is nothing if it is not intimately united with the active, altruistic force of compassion, which causes him who knows and sees to immolate and sacrifice himself for him who does not know and who does not see. Such unity can adequately be represented only by the symbolism of a lovers' union. That is what the eye of the initiate reads into the amorous embrace which confronts him on the altar." 32

Renou 33 notes that this union of $up\bar{a}ya$ (means) and $praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$ (gnosis) is free from any pain connected with ignorance, and that it may be realized through psychic exercises as well as by actual sexual intercourse. Actually, for the Mahāyāna, the most important impulsion was that of compassion ($karun\bar{a}$). $Up\bar{a}ya$ and $praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$ are in reality compassion and Void, the sexual interpretation being secondary. In the final analysis, it may be admitted that "the theoretical justification for the introduction of eroticism into Tantrism by the symbolism of $up\bar{a}ya$ and $praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$ (means and knowledge) was encouraged, if not produced, among the Tantric adepts, through the action of their libido, or of their subconscious instincts. In any case, the sublimation of sexuality appears to be a concept already known to Asaṅga." 34



III

Six Secondary Mudrā and the Āsana

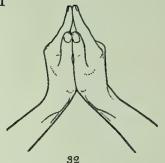


9 Mudrā of the ceremony of unction

Kanjō-in 灌頂印

CH. Kuan-ting-yin

SK. Abhişeka(na)-mudrā 1



THE MUDR \overline{A} called the $kanj\overline{o}-in^2$ is one of the gestures which accompanies the ceremony of unction $(kanj\overline{o})$. It is formed by placing the palms of the hands against each other, the fingers crossed and folded on the interior (naibaku) of the "fist" thus formed; the thumbs and fore-fingers remain erect and touch at the tops.³

SYMBOLISM

The ceremony of unction,⁴ used principally by the Esoteric sects for ritual consecration, presents an analogy, superficial as it may be, to Christian baptism. The Buddhist kanjō, however, is more than a rite which marks the entrance into religion; it is the affirmation that the neophyte has accomplished a given step toward bodhi and, hence, is further engaged on the path toward supreme enlightenment.⁵ According to Kōbō Daishi, who is thought to have introduced the kanjō ceremony to Kyōto in the IX century, it is a question of the "bestowal 6 of the Buddha's great mercy upon Sentient Beings to enable them to obtain the highest perfect Enlightenment." ⁷

The ceremony of unction is probably to be traced to the universal custom, in ceremony, of anointing the head with oil. Aspersion at the investiture of a king was already practiced in ancient India. The Vedas 8 attest the association of a ceremony of unction with the royal consecration. Since ancient times, the aspersion of the head of the sovereign with

water taken from the Four Great Oceans symbolized the universality of his reign.

The ceremony of unction was rapidly contaminated through contact with magical practices inherent in Esotericism. It evolved toward rather diverse objectives, such as assurance of progeny, restoration of the power of a king,9 dispensation of happiness,10 and increase in "utility" (i.e., in health, in riches); it was even used to avoid the distress of adversity.11 Nevertheless, during the first centuries of the Christian era, the abhiseka rite took on a spiritual sense.12 While Buddhism of the most ancient type associated the kanjo uniquely with the investiture of a sovereign, after the development of Esotericism the ceremony is clearly stamped with a magico-religious character. It became then a ritual aiming at procuring powers attainable through the magic of the rite. For the Mantrayana,13 the unction water symbolizes the Five Knowledges of the Buddha,14 which are symbolically granted to the neophyte by the ceremony. "In the first place," Glasenapp says, "the Buddhist abhisheka aims at conferring on the subject, through a consecration, the required aptitude for the study of a tantra. As the initiation into the mysteries proceeds by degrees, most of the systems recognize a hierarchic order established with (relation to) several abhishekas to be received, each in turn, until the pupil equals his master in knowledge as well as in magic power, and until he himself is authorized to confer the consecration to others." 15 In China this ceremony is sometimes celebrated on behalf of important secular figures.

This mudrā is most often made by personages of an inferior order. It is never made by a Buddha, sometimes by a Bodhisattva, and most often by holy personages (gods, $my\bar{o}-\bar{o}$) ¹⁶ to indicate the receiving of an abhiseka, notably that $kanj\bar{o}$ which is supposed to grant to the celebrant the Knowledges of the Buddha (Dainichi).

10 Mudrā of the Buddha's alms bowl

Buppatsu-in 佛鉢印



CH. Fo-puo-yin

sk. Buddhapātramudrā (?)



TO FORM THIS GESTURE, the celebrant is seated in yogāsana, the soles of the feet up, the two hands held at the level of the navel on two different planes, facing each other. The left hand sometimes holds two corners of the kesa, while the right is held directly above it, palm downward. This gesture is also called the shakamuni-daihachi-in.

A variant of this gesture seems to be the one mentioned under the $j\bar{o}$ -in (cf. n. 56, p. 231): the two hands are superposed, one above the other, the palms up, the fingers slightly flexed ⁶ "as if for holding a bowl. By forming this seal, one is identified with the Tathāgata. The result is that all Beings who are not Receptacles (that is, who do not have the "caliber" to receive the Good Law) become Receptacles of the Law ($h\bar{o}ki$, epithet for the Alms Bowl)." ⁷

The buppatsu-in is one of the mudrā distinctive of Shakamuni.8

11 Basara-un diamond mudrā

Basara-un-kongō-in 縛日羅吽全剛印

сн. Chuan-yüeh-lo-hung chin-kang-yin

sĸ. Vajrahūmkāra-mudrā



THIS MUDRA, characteristic of Vajra-hūm, whose diamond-like strength and terrible anger it expresses, is made by crossing the wrists in front of the breast, the fists turned toward the outside, the right superposed on the left. Usually, the right hand holds a vajra, the symbol of the Knowledge which destroys passions and of the adamantine Truth of the Law which nothing can destroy; the left hand holds the bell or ghaṇṭā,

35 Kongō Ken-in

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36 Sankaisaishō-in

the symbol of the Law and of the assembling of the faithful.² These objects are not necessarily present, for the meditation of the adept may supplant their absence. In meditation, the hands remain in position for holding the XVJ objects; or, as the case may be, they may form two kongō ken-in crossed: the right hand (Buddha) symbolizes Sentient Beings in whom intelligence of the Buddha exists in a perfect state, and the left hand (Beings) rings the bell in order to disperse illusion and error.³ When the wrists of the hands in basara-un-kongō-in are turned toward the inside, contrary to the previous form, the mudrā may be called sankaisaishō-in (trailokyavijaya [mudrā]),⁴ "mudrā of the Victor of the Three Worlds."

This mudrā is peculiar to Kongōzōō and to Kongōsatta (Vajrasattva).

12 Mudrā of the ubiquity (of the Three Mysteries)

Mushofushi-in 無所不至印

CH. Wu-so-pu-chih-yin



The Mushofushi-in is formed by joining the palms of the two hands: the middle, ring, and little fingers are raised and touch at the ends. A space is left between the hands. The indexes are flexed, and at their tips they join the thumbs, which are erect, side by side. To this grouping of the fingers the following symbolism is applied: the erect fingers (middle, ring, and little) represents the Six Original Substances; the thumbs and the indexes, the Four Kinds of Mandara; and (according to the Kegonkyō) the two thumbs, Hōshō (left) and Shaka (right). The three apertures formed by the indexes and the erect fingers symbolize the Three Mysteries (sammitsu), word, thought, and body (act), which form the triple Unity, the basic principle of Esotericism. As Smidt says: "Thus are represented substance, semblance, and activity which, all three, are present in all phenomena: 'there is no place which they do not reach' (mushofushi)." 5

This mudrā may be named $rit\bar{o}-in$, "mudrā of the 'principial' stūpa." So designated, the mudrā is peculiar to Dainichi Nyorai, who symbolizes the supreme Principle (ri) of the Esoteric system. Other names are: hen hokkai mushofushi-in, "mudrā which reaches to all the Essence Worlds"; mushofushi tō-in, "ubiquitous stūpa mudrā"; dai sotoba-in, "great stūpa mudrā"; butsubu sotoba-in, "stūpa mudrā of the Buddha section"; Biroshana-in, "mudrā of Vairocana." All these names refer to this gesture as specifically connected with Dainichi (Vairocana) whose attribute is the "principial" stūpa. Since the knowledge sword is also an attribute of this divinity, the mushofushi-in is also called Dainichi ken-in,

[Diag. III

[100

MUSHOFUSHI-IN

"mudrā of Dainichi's sword," or Dai etō-in, "Great knowledge sword mudrā." These mudrā are known as the gestures of the ultimate mystery of (taizōkai) Dainichi.

13 Mudrā of hiding forms

Ongyō-in 隱形印

CH. Yin-hsing-yin



THE ONGYŌ-IN ¹ is formed in the following fashion: the left hand forms the fist called the Fist of Void $(k\bar{u}ken)$; it is covered by the right hand, whose fingers are extended horizontally. ² This gesture is also known as the *Marishitenhōbyō-in*, "mudrā of the precious receptacle of Marishi-ten."

The magical object of this gesture is to dissimulate, to hide the form (of the body), to subtract oneself from the view of others.³ The notion of dissimulation is closely associated with the goddess Marishi-ten (Sk. Marīcī). In China, Marishi, who is also called the Queen of the Sky, is the goddess of the light which supports sun and moon.⁴ In Tibet, she is the goddess of the sunrise.⁵ In Japan, she is supposed to reside in one of the seven stars of the Great Bear.⁶ Marīcī ⁷ is one of the attendants of Sūrya, the sun god, around whom she ceaselessly revolves, so rapidly that she is quite invisible. He who makes the ongyō-in, pronouncing at the same time the required formulas, is supposed to be able to render himself invisible on the example of this divinity.

The $ongy\bar{o}-in$ is used in connection with the so-called $ongy\bar{o}-h\bar{o}$ or method of dissimulating form, and in Esoteric sects it is believed that the practician, by pronouncing the correct mantra and making the $ongy\bar{o}-in$, is enabled through the power of "incantation" (kaji) to exorcise all demons. According to the $Marishitengy\bar{o}$ 8: "At that time, the Buddha spoke thus to the monks: 'There is a goddess called Marishi. She has great supernatural (and superhuman) powers. She is forever passing in front of the gods of the sun and moon, yet they cannot see her, though she

can see the sun. Men cannot perceive or recognize her; they cannot capture or bind her; they cannot hurt or deceive her; they cannot take her possessions; they cannot condemn or punish her and those who are resentful cannot obtain her aid.' (Then) the Buddha spoke to the monks saying: 'If you know Marishi-ten's name and constantly keep it in mind. men cannot perceive or recognize you, neither can they catch, bind, or hurt you. Moreover, people cannot deceive you. Your property will not be taken and you will not be condemned or punished; yet her help will not be had by those who are resentful." Further, the same sūtra explains the gesture: "Next, the Marishi ansosona-in (which means hiding shapes) is formed. The left hand is made into an 'empty fist' (i.e., hollowed) with the thumb slightly bearing against the fingernail of the index as if forming a ring. The remaining three fingers are grasped into a closed fist. An aperture is to be left within the fist and it is to be placed in front of the breast. One should meditate on entering into the hole and being contained therein. Revolve the right palm (hand) in a right-hand motion and rub the mudrā (formed by the left hand), that is, cover the top of the hole. Think of this mudrā as the body of Marishi Bosatsu, and of your own self as being held hidden within the heart of Marishi-ten Bosatsu. Concentrate with all your might, ceaselessly. . . . (Only) if one is respectful and sincere and puts forth one's heart, then one will certainly obtain the awesome protection of the divinity and be invisible to all resentful and evil people, and able to avoid all disasters." 9

14 The outer bonds fist

Gebaku Ken-in 外縳拳印

CH. Wai-fu ch'üan-yin



[3-4

THE GEBAKU KEN-IN is formed by joining the two palms and by crossing the fingers so that they are on the outside of the fist thus formed. This gesture may be compared to the mudrā called the naibaku ken-in, "gesture of the inner bonds," which is the same as the gebaku ken-in except that the entwined fingers, held within the fist formed by the two hands, constitute "inner bonds." This mudrā is called also shizaige ken-in, "fist with the fingers outside." The Dainichikyōsho (13), shingonshugyō-shō, notes that this mudrā "is variously named kengo baku[-in] (stable bonds mudrā), kongō baku[-in] (diamond bonds mudrā), or gebaku ken-in. [The gesture] signifies release from the bondage of the passions and expresses the perfection of the Ten Stages." 2

40 Naibaku Ken-in



According to the position of the fingers, these two mudrā are differentiated on the symbolic plane: the gebaku ken-in represents the vow of Beings (to become Buddha); the naibaku ken-in, that of the Buddha(s) (to help Beings). The Si-do-in-dzou gives two ritual forms of gebaku ken-in, that of the taizōkai and that of the kongōkai. The first, mashu gebaku,³ is formed after having made the required offerings. The joining of

the two hands symbolizes the harmony (of the two worlds); "the entwining of the fingers forms a round figure, that of the full moon, which indicates that the mind of the priest has no stain within and that it is 'full (of purity) like the full moon." "4 The second, dai yoku (great avidity), indicates the love of Vairocana for all Beings, a love, which, in man, is represented by the limited desire for affection: in Kongōsattva (Vajrasattva, the Bodhisattva who emanates from Vairocana), this love is translated by an Avidity (yoku) 5 to love all Beings at the same time. Thus in Shingon ritual, the gebaku ken-in, emblematic of Great Avidity, symbolizes the Heart and the Compassion of the Buddha. The aperture which exists between the thumbs and the indexes is to permit Beings - by virtue of the power of the ritual dhāraṇī-to gather within the fist of the Buddha (i.e., the celebrant). "Holding them thus in his hands, he proposes to convert them in order that they may all have the same idea and the same feeling (of goodness and of reciprocal love)." 6 At this moment in the ritual, the gebaku ken-in is made-it is called dai raku-so that the hands, closely locked, hold the Beings that were assembled in the preceding mudrā.

This gesture is most often made by holy personages,⁷ but most particularly those of secondary rank. It is never made by a Buddha.

15 Postures and Thrones

Za 坐

CH. Tso

SK. $\bar{A}sana$



THE \overline{A} SANA may correctly be considered to be of the domain of the mudra, and it is particularly fitting to approach this subject with reference to the gestures, for the postures of the body, notably the pose of the legs— \overline{a} sana (za)—enter into the symbolic framework of the statue. It is also true that the mudra and the \overline{a} sana are generally treated under the same heading in Japanese texts relating to iconography. Even a superficial study of these \overline{a} sana will enlarge the scope of the symbolism that has been outlined for the symbolic gestures.

The technique of assuming particular postures goes far back into Indian asceticism. Āsana are mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* and in Vedic literature, although extensive lists are to be found most usually in tantric treatises. "The purpose of these meditational positions is always the same: 'absolute cessation of trouble from the pairs [of opposites]' [dvaṃdvānabhighāta: my reading. E.D.S.]. In this way one realizes a certain 'neutrality' of the senses; consciousness is no longer troubled by the 'presence of the body.' One realizes the first stage toward isolation of consciousness; the bridges that permit communication with sensory activity begin to be raised." ¹⁸

It is certain that the āsanic posture, in iconography, is meant to differentiate the state of the man so portrayed from that of human beings in general. Man is constantly in movement, he is physically active, dynamic, constantly alternating between composition and decomposition. In this he is different from objects which are static, non-mobile. Thus the āsana emphasizes a change in man's status. To a certain extent he has

POSTURES AND THRONES

rejected his human qualities and withdrawn from the surroundings which affect him as a human being. In this sense, then, the asana symbolizes a transcendent state corresponding for the body to the ecstatic condition that concentration produces in the mind. The Buddha by his posture makes clear that he is a being no longer completely in the world of men, that the constant human processes of change have been suspended for him, and that he now stands as a transcendent being, changeless and stable.

Lotus posture (and throne): Renge-za

The renge-za (padmāsana), as the designation for seat 2 or for socle,3 417 is universally used in Northern Buddhism, where almost all the divinities, with very few exceptions, are represented either standing 4 on a lotus flower, which is sometimes stylized into a socle, or seated on a lotus throne, which in such cases serves as a dais.5 The early Buddha, as a tangible human being, stood on the ground, but in Mahāyāna Buddhism he became the epiphany of a transcendental essence, and properly he is placed upon the lotus, the cosmic flower. "Precisely as the transcendent substance of Vișnu, the primeval water, brings forth the phenomenal, dynamic form of Brahmā (who then evolves the phenomenal universe), so likewise, the transcendent adamantean essence of enlightenment, the sheer 'suchness' (tathata) which underlies the universe, gives forth the saviors. That is why the Buddhas, the first-born of that reality, are entitled no less than Brahmā to the lotus throne. This lotus symbol, which in its original association with the goddess Padmā-Laksmī denoted divine physical life-force, the life-sustaining, transcendent yet immanent substance of the timeless waters, in Mahāyāna Buddhism connotes the supramundane (lokottara) character of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, who are, as seen, mere phantoms, mere luminous reflexes on the several phenomenal planes of celestial and terrestrial intellection." 58 The lotus also constitutes, in some instances, an individual support for the foot or feet of seated divinities.6 In Tibet, Nepal, China, and Japan, the lotus

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generally bears two or three rows of petals, or even more: the outside row is bent down, and the inside row raised so as to delimit the flat part that will support the statue.⁷

When the renge-za designates a seated attitude, this posture is formed by crossing the legs and bringing each foot, the sole up, onto the opposite thigh. In Exotericism (kengyō), all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas assume this position. In Esotericism (mikkyō), the left leg is first placed on the right thigh. According to the Kongōchōgyōichijichōrinnōyugaissaijishonenjujōbutsugiki: "The left leg presses on the right thigh, while the



42 Kekka fuza

right leg is placed on the left thigh. This is the *nyorai* posture." ^{7a} This position, characteristic of the yogi, is favorable to meditation and to ecstatic concentration: it is called in Japanese *kekka fuza*, ⁸ in Sanskrit *padmāsana*. (The latter designation, however, which serves to indicate indiscriminately either the lotus seat or the posture called the *kekka fuza*, is somewhat confusing.) There are two types of full lotus posture: the *kichijō*, [posture of] good fortune, and the *gōma*, demon-subduing [posture]. In the *gōma-za* the left foot rests on the right thigh, and in the corresponding hand gesture (*jō-in*) the left hand is placed on the right one. The *kichijō-za* is just the opposite. Such designations as *zenka-za*, "full crosslegged posture," and *zenka*, *honka-za*, *daiza*, all of which are designated here by the term "full lotus posture" stand in opposition to the posture in which only one leg is crossed, i.e., *hanka-za* (see p. 125), which is here termed "half lotus posture."

In India until the end of the Gupta period, this was the habitual attitude of seated statues 9—an attitude, moreover, which spread through-

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46, XIII, 457

VIII7

out all Asia of Buddhist obedience. In India from the VII century on, other manners of representing seated statues came into use, such as the so-called "European position" and the attitudes of royal ease. When the Buddha is seated on his diamond throne, $kong\bar{o}-za$ (Sk. $vajr\bar{a}sana$), that is to say, the one on which he was seated in meditation under the bodhi tree, this fact is indicated by the presence of a vajra on some part of the throne. Sometimes in certain Shingon representations, the vajra is represented on the body of the Buddha rather than on the dais. 12

The kongō-za (vajrāsana) posture is the same as the kekka fuza except that the legs are even more firmly locked. In Sanskrit this attitude is also called vajra-paryanka.13 The vajra-paryanka, the adamantine and unshakable posture, may be explained, psychologically, as representing a mental quality of Him who is seated (on the adamantine throne); his heart is like the diamond 14 (vajra-upama citta), unshakable, hard. This position evokes not only the most profound meditation of the Buddha on the diamond throne, but also the calling of the earth as witness, at the moment of the defeat of the demons (cf. sokuchi-in, supra) and the supreme enlightenment to which the Buddha attained on this throne. Consequently there exists a close association between the $j\bar{o}$ -in $(dhy\bar{a}namudr\bar{a})$ and the sokuchi-in $(bh\bar{u}mispar\acute{s}amudr\bar{a})$ - both of which derive from the episode under the bodhi tree—and the posture called $kong\bar{o}$ -za. In Coomaraswamy's words: "Padmāsana and vajrāsana are equally symbols of that sthāyitā [existence]: both express visually sadā sthita, and tiṣṭhati, with respect to the Buddha or any Angel; both differentiate the station of Sambhogakāya from that of the Dharmakaya, which is inaccessible even to the angelic eye." 15 Sometimes it is noted that the left leg folded over the right is the attitude of subduing demons, while the right over the left is the attitude of blessing, the hands being placed in similar order.15a Moreover, the right leg stands for the world of the Buddha(s) while the left leg stands for that of Sentient Beings. Placing the right on the left symbolizes that the world of Sentient Beings is gathered (shoshu) into the world of the Buddha and also that the world of the Buddha takes refuge in the world of Sentient Beings.

In the *vajrāsana* the symbolism of the *vajra* is fused with that of the wheel, for the adamantine throne is situated in the center of the universe and supports itself on the wheel of gold. The term "adamantine throne," designates the purity and solidity of the support. Without this throne the earth could not last, and He who wishes to be victorious over the demons must sit upon it. The Buddha(s) of the present all attained enlightenment on it. Were the earth to be shaken on its foundations, the throne would remain unmoved. ¹⁶

Despite its close connection to Sākyamuni, this attitude is not at all limited to the Buddha(s). It is a pose characteristic of numerous Bodhisattvas, 17 holy men, monks, and secular as well as ecclesiastic worthies. The mudrā which accompany this posture and its variant, the vīrāsana, are consequently diverse: among them are the semui-in, the an-i-in, the jō-in, the sokuchi-in and sometimes, especially when the lotus is supported by lions or elephants, the tembōrin-in.

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Half (lotus) posture: Hanka-za18

The hanka-za (vīrāsana, 19 "attitude of the Hero") is a variant of the so-called vajrāsana posture. Other names are: hankafu (half lotus posture); hanka shōza (correct half posture); hanka-za, hanka, hanza (half posture); han-kekka (half [lotus] posture); kenza (Knowledge posture). According to the Jūhachikeiingishakuseiki: "The hanka-za is formed by placing the right foot on the left thigh. This symbolizes the Right Way and the suppression of heterodoxy. The right signifies Right (correct), and left means erroneous. Another name given to this posture is bodai-za, 'bodhi posture.' "20 There is a revealing passage in the Makasōgiritsu (XL) concerning the use by nuns of the hanka-za instead of the full lotus posture. "At that time, the bhikṣuṇī [were in the habit] of sitting con-

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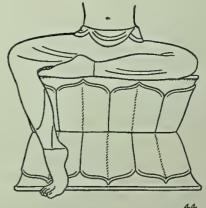
tinually in the full lotus position (kafu). At one time a snake appeared and entered into the 'wound' [of one of them]. . . . The Buddha said: 'Why do you sit thus in the lotus posture? Henceforth I will not permit [you to do so]. The way of sitting is thus: You should bend one leg and put the heel of the other (leg) over your "wound." Those bhikṣuṇī who sit in the lotus posture will transgress [against the rules]." This position represents the Bodhisattva as the Victorious One (shōja), triumphant over the demons of evil, the universal sovereign who, by spreading his Law, represses the forces of malevolence. In the two maṇḍala (taizōkai and kongōkai) Bodhisattvas like Kokūzō, Senju Kannon (Thousandarmed), Kongōzōō, Hannya, etc., all are portrayed seated on a lotus in the hanka posture.

There are in practice two types of hanka-za: the goma, the demonsuppressing seat, and the kichijo, seat of good fortune. The kichijo-(hanka-za) is formed by placing the right leg on the left thigh, the goma-(hanka-VII] za) by placing the left leg on the right thigh. The kichijo hanza is most common in Esotericism, while the goma hanza is perhaps most usual as an ecstatic-concentration (zazen) posture. The kekka-za is for Tathagatas and the hanka-za for Bodhisattvas.²¹

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In the yuga-za ²² (yogāsana ²³), the meditation posture associated with yoga meditation, the knees are held slightly elevated by a band which goes round them; ²⁴ in sculpture this band is very often absent. More precisely, this attitude may be called paryanka bandhana ²⁵ (cf. kekka fuza, supra). The Sino-Japanese designation of yuga-za tends to become a generic term which indicates any posture of meditation—kekka fuza, hanka-za, or yuga-za—without distinguishing one from the other. The yuga-za is the position in which the celebrant devotes himself to concentration "on one single point in order to suppress all thought." ²⁶ He is thus enabled to possess magical powers ²⁷ which permit him to make his body lighter or heavier than air, smaller or larger than any thing; which

permit him to penetrate everywhere, to take on diverse forms, etc. (Eitel). The yogic pose, and this holds for all yogic techniques, puts emphasis on "unification" and "totalization." On the plane of the body, Eliade notes, " $\bar{a}sana$ is an $ek\bar{a}grat\bar{a}$, a concentration on a single point; the body is 'tensed,' concentrated in a single position. Just as $ek\bar{a}grat\bar{a}$ puts an end to the fluctuation and dispersion of the states of consciousness, so $\bar{a}sana$ puts an end to the mobility and disposability of the body, by reducing the infinity of possible positions to a single archetypal, iconographic posture." 278



Posture of relaxation: Lalitāsana 28

In this attitude, the personage represented is seated on a lotus dais, one foot (the right, generally) is pendent and the other, folded on the socle, supports the opposite knee. The hanging foot very often rests on an individual lotus, which, for this purpose, is in front of the throne. This is a characteristic Bodhisattva attitude. In India, Avalokiteśvara assumes this posture in the latest caves of Ellorā, and after the X century "most of the divinities are thus represented." ²⁹ In China this same attitude is often used, especially in representations of Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara), during the T'ang and the Sung dynasties. ³⁰

The mundane postures of ease, like the *lalitāsana* and the *mahārā-jalīlāsana* below, recall the world of Beings by their elegance; while by the severity of their position, the *padmāsana*, *vīrāsana*, and *yogāsana* (*kekka fuza*, *hanka-za*, and *yuga-za*) evoke the solemnity of the Doctrine or the calm of meditation and thus suggest the world of the Buddha.

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Posture of royal ease: [Mahā]rājalīlāsana 31

This is the attitude of "royal relaxation." The left leg of the statue, which is in a seated position, is folded horizontally in such a fashion that the sole of the foot is exposed; the right foot rests on the edge of the seat. The right knee, erect, may support the right arm of the statue. The palm of the right hand is turned either out or in, and the left hand braces itself against the throne.

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This posture, common for Bodhisattva(s), is assumed most frequently by Monju ³² (Mañjuśrī) and by Kannon (Avalokiteśvara). ³³ Certain authorities ³⁴ call it the "Enchanter's pose," for Mañjuśrī; but, as Foucher correctly points out, the attitude is not peculiar to this divinity alone. ³⁵ In India this position is associated with the lion throne, ³⁶ which would seem to confirm its royal character. In Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Pl. x), a group of wooden statues represent Śākyamuni, who is still in the state of an ascetic, in this attitude. Three of the statues out of four present the left knee raised; only one shows the right knee erect. Since this elegant attitude of ease and nonchalant unconstraint has the most worldly character, the position is formally forbidden to monks. ³⁷



Posture of Maitreya 38

This attitude, which shows the two legs pendent, sometimes crossed at the ankles (the feet are sometimes supported by individual lotuses),³⁹ is reserved almost completely ⁴⁰ for statues of Miroku. As a "posture of Maitreya" it is closely associated with the $temb\bar{o}rin-in$ ($dharmacakra-mudr\bar{a}$), the gesture of turning the wheel of the Law, by which Miroku, as the Buddha of the future, emphasizes the symbolism of sovereignty



[XIII

47 Posture of Maitreya (variant)



48 Posture of Maitreya (variant)

characteristic of the wheel (cf. temborin-in, supra). In India, the fact that this attitude is associated with royalty is indicated by the presence of other elements which symbolize sovereignty, such as the rearing lion and the elephant. In the VI-XII centuries, these elements figured in statues of the Buddha(s) seated in the so-called "European fashion" and forming the temborin-in. This position, which is found at Benares 42 and which, at Mathura, was reserved for royal statues, 43 becomes habitual from the

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Gupta period on. A statue now located in the Bombay Museum is seated in this fashion. It is of the Gupta period (IV-V centuries) and comes from the stūpa at Mīrukān (Sind). It is noted as being seated in bhadrāsana, "good posture." It must have penetrated around the VII-VIII centuries into other Indianized countries,⁴⁴ into China,⁴⁵ even to Japan,⁴⁶ although this position is rarer in the Buddhist art of these two lands.



Pensive attitude

This the so-called pensive attitude does not seem to figure among the mudrā or the āsana studied by Japanese authorities on iconography. To the knowledge of the present writer, the modalities of its composition are not established by any text. Nevertheless, the following indications will serve to define in general lines what is called here the pensive attitude.

Statues represented in this position show the elbow resting on a raised knee, the foot or the ankle on the opposite knee, the hand raised toward the cheek, and the head slightly inclined in an attitude of contemplation or of reflection. The opposite hand lies on the foot (or the ankle, less often on the calf) of the crossed leg.⁴⁷

It is possible to trace the origins of this attitude of reflection, whose variations in detail are numerous indeed, as far back as India. Already at Mathurā, toward the beginning of the II century, there was an example of a standing statue, the right hand raised, the fingers (with the exception of the index and the middle finger) inflected. The raised hand delicately touches the end of the chin. Moreover, Greco-Buddhist art from the province of Tokht-i-Bahai furnishes the figuration of a seated Bodhisattva, the right hand raised, the index extended at the level of the hair, the right elbow braced against the erect knee. This figuration doubtless constitutes a prototype for numerous Wei and T'ang statues represented in the same position. Under the Wei, the attitude remains rather stiff,

obeying thereby the linear character of this period; but under the T'ang ⁵¹ and the Sung, ⁵² it was to show all the voluptuous languor which marks the statues of Bodhisattva in *mahārājalīlāsana*. This tradition is present in Japan as early as the Suiko period in numerous statues, of which the most famous is probably that of the Chūgūji at Nara. ⁵³ In China, either the right or the left hand could be raised, for it would seem that the aesthetic balance of the statue was adapted to the position and to the use of the icon. ⁵⁴ In Japan numerous variations of the position of the hands, the fingers, and the palms are encountered, but generally this attitude shows the right hand raised toward the face (chin, cheek, or forehead), while the left lies on the left leg (instep, ankle, or calf).

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This attitude in Japan, as in China, is especially characteristic of two Bodhisattvas: Kannon and Miroku. For Kannon, 55 it is the end-point of the non-Tantric tradition of Avalokiteśvara in the form of Nyo-i-rin Kannon, either two-armed or with multiple arms. 56 But this position is still (and specially) characteristic of Miroku. 57 One foot of this divinity invariably rests on the ground, the other lies across the opposite knee, and the chin is brushed by the index and the middle finger (which may vary in position 58) of the raised hand. The Miroku of the Chūgūji is one of the most famous examples of this posture in Japan. It may also be added here that in meditative statues, like the Chūgūji and the Kōryūji Miroku(s), which are seated in hanka-za, the left leg hanging down from the pedestal, the attitude is called hanka shi-i-za, half (lotus) posture of thoughtful (meditation).

CXVII

Thrones

Certain elements of a decorative nature may be discussed together with the āsana. Elements such as the kūrmāsana, or "tortoise throne," by the makarāsana, 60 "throne supported by makara," the siṃhāsana, 61 "lion throne," a symbol of royalty, the elephant seat, a symbol of sovereignty and wisdom, 62 etc., are necessarily connected with the symbolic framework

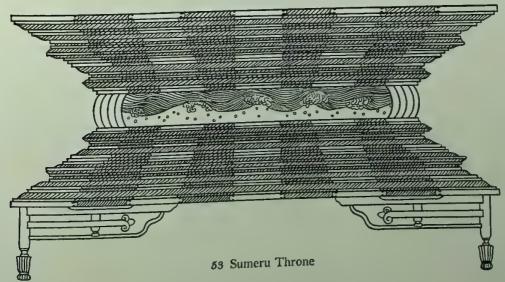
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of the statue. A summary list of the more common types of thrones would include the following, some of which are also illustrated:

- 1 Kongō-za. The seat of the Buddha under the Tree of Wisdom. Usually in the form of a square platform.
- Shishi-za. A throne in the form of a lion or supported by lions. The lion, king of the animals, carries the Buddha, king of the Law. The use of this animal as a throne probably derives from the Indian legend that a lion was often in attendance on the Buddha or near the Buddha's throne. When the Buddha figure first appeared, he stood on the ground, or, when seated, he was shown not on the lotus throne but on the lion throne (siṃhāsana). The Buddha, who is a "lion among men," preaches sermons which are the "lion's roar" (siṃhanāda). The lion throne is associated with Dainichi Nyorai and the Bodhisattvas Monju and Hokkai Kokūzō (Sk. Ākāśagarbha; Gaṇagarbha), etc. Ichijikinrinbutchō has seven lions, and Rasatsu (Rākṣasa) has a white lion.
- III] 3 Ten-i-za. A platform draped with the heavenly robe (ten-i). Examples are to be found in Gandhāra, Tibet, India, and China. In Japan, the famous Hōryūji Yakushi and Shaka are seated on thrones of this sort.
- I, VII] 4 Renge-za. The eight-petaled lotus throne (see supra, p. 122). But lotuses with as many as one thousand petals may also be used. Both Chinese and Japanese lotus thrones show the influence of southern Indian Buddhist images. In the post-T'ang period (in Japan after Temmu, 672–86), almost all thrones are in the shape of the lotus. Attendants of the Buddha are sometimes, as in the Tachibana shrine or the Hōryūji Amida Trinity, supported by lotus buds.
 - 51] 5 Banjaku-za. A kind of throne in the shape of a rock of which two styles may be discerned: a simple rocky structure, and pieces of wood of curious shapes. This type of dais (also called iwa-za) is characteristic of the Myō-ō or Guardian Kings.
 - 6 Kayō-za. A platform throne in the shape of an inverted water-lily leaf. It is used by various divinities.
 - 53] 7 Sendai-za. A throne in the shape of the cosmic mountain Sumeru: hence also sumi-za. This throne is rectangular in its plane form, the



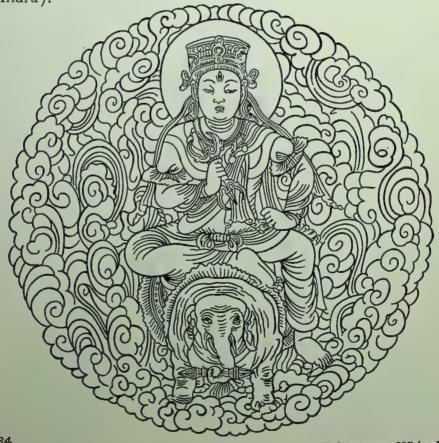


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upper surface being the largest and surmounting a series of flat rectangular blocks, gradually diminishing toward the base. It resembles somewhat the ideogram sen, whence still another name, senji-za. This type of throne is particularly used by Nyorai (cf. the central statue of the Shaka Trinity, Hōryūji Kondō, and the Yakushi Nyorai of the Yakushiji Kondō). It is, however, used by other divinities, e.g., Makeshura (Maheśvara), Emmaten, Suiten (Varuṇa, nāga vajra), Ishura, and Taishakuten. According to the Kongōchōrengebushinnenjugiki, the Sumeru king expresses the bodhi mind of Sentient Beings. There are thirty-two gradations in all; sixteen rising from the center upwards and sixteen descending from the center downwards. They doubtless correspond to the thirty-two divinities of the kongōkai.

8 $Ch\bar{o}j\bar{u}$ -za or $Kinj\bar{u}$ -za. A throne in the form of a bird or of a specific beast:

a The elephant of Fugen, Ashuku, Kongō Kokūzō, and Taishaku (Indra).



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54 Taishaku on White Elephant

b The peacock of Kujaku-ten, Amida, Renge Kokūzō, and Kumara-ten (Kumāra).

The lion of Dainichi Nyorai and the Bodhisattva(s) Monju and Hokkai Kokūzō (Sk. Ākāśagarbha; Gaṇagarbha), etc. Ichijikinrinbutchō has seven lions, and Rasatsu (Rākṣasa) has a white lion.

c The horse throne is associated with Hōshō Nyorai, Nemyo-bosatsu, Hōkō Kokūzō. Nichiten (Sūrya) of the twelve heavenly beings has five horses, 64 and Nichiten of the outer Diamond Court of the taizōkai maṇḍala has four. Nichiten of the taizōkai Diamond Court has three.

d The karura-za or garuḍa (bird) throne is seen with Fukūjōju Nyorai, Gyōyō Kokūzō, and Naraenten ⁶⁵ (Nārāyaṇa).

e The ox (buffalo) throne is used by Dai Itoku Myō-ō (with water buffalo), Emma-ten (white water buffalo), Daijizai-ten (black water buffalo),



55 Kujaku on Golden Peacock



56 Nichiten on Horse



57 Naraen-ten on Garuda



58 Emma-ten on Water-ox



59 Suiten on Tortoise Throne



61 Gatten seated on White Geese Throne



60 Füten on Deer Throne



62 Marishi-ten on Boar

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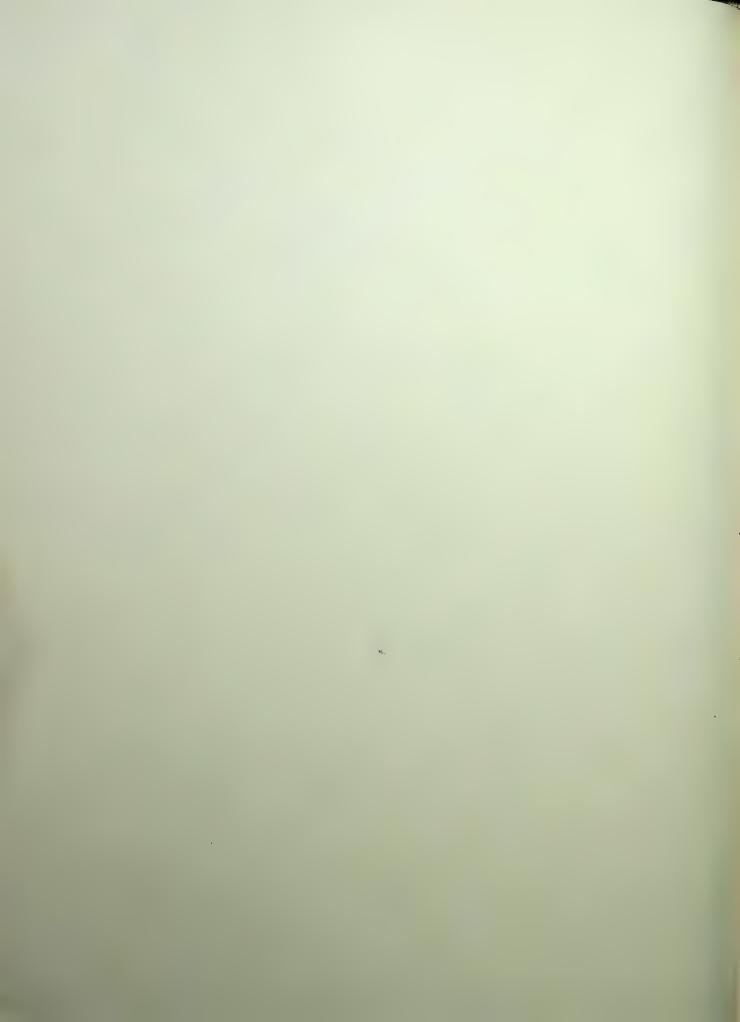
Katen (blue ox), Izana-ten (Īśāna; yellow water buffalo). While the type of ox may differ, all are classified under the general term of ushi. f A few somewhat less common creatures are also used as seats: the ram for Daijizai-ten, who is known as Uma-hi (Maheśvara-umā) and is seated on a red goat; the tortoise for Suiten (Varuṇa); the deer for Fūten, one of the four Diamond gods of the kongōkai (cf. BD 1506); the goose (or geese) for Gatten (Candra); the wild boar for Marishi-ten; the demon seat used by Daigen Myō-ō and Myōmon-ten, who rides on a yakusha-oni (yakṣa), and by Uzu-sama Myō-ō (Ucchuṣma), who rides on a binayaka (i.e., a demon symbolizing evil; Sk. vināyaka).





IV

The Attributes



Introduction

THE ATTRIBUTES (Sk. lakṣaṇa 1), that is, the objects which divinities—except the Buddha(s) 2—hold in their hands, serve as mudrā in the sense of signs. They help to identify the gods and to mark their symbolic character. Certain attributes are used in aniconic representations in order to replace the body of the historical Buddha.3 Later, in the course of the development of Buddhist iconography, these objects became closely associated, in the capacity of accidental details, to the Buddhist statue or image. Divinities which resemble each other on the mystic plane are distinguished iconographically by the attributes which serve as mudrā, in this instance as "signs of identity." Thus Vajrapāņi carries the vajra; Fudō, the sword and the lasso; Kannon, the lotus or the vase, etc. There exist several interchangeable series of these symbolic objects. Like the mudra, however, no one group of attributes suffices on its own to permit the identification of a specific divinity. For example, as Glasenapp says, "in the Shingon sect, several symbols are often attributed to a same entity; reciprocally, there are many that diverse entities possess in common. Thus the Shingon sect attributes as arms to Vairocana a stupa, while according to Advayavajra,4 it should be a wheel. The attribute of Amitābha, after the Shingon sect and Advayavajra, is none other than a lotus, but a tradition attested elsewhere makes it a stupa and a jewel." 5 The diverse series vary, yet the principal symbolic objects remain relatively few.6 Certain ones reappear constantly in sculpture. In order of their frequency of use and according to their importance, the following may be mentioned:

THE ATTRIBUTES: INTRODUCTION

lotus, vajra (lightning bolt), stūpa, jewel, alms bowl, sistrum, rosary, bell, conch shell, sword, knot and rope, trident, bow and arrow, scroll and brush, mirror, ax, and fly whisk. In the following, they are dealt with in English alphabetical order.

I Alms Bowl

Hachi¹ 鉢

CH. Po

sk. Pātra



REVERAL LEGENDS describe the alms bowl, the small vessel which the mendicant priests of Buddhist countries still use today. According to one of these, at the end of seven weeks of meditation, two merchants, Trapușa and Bhallika, were passing in a caravan near the place where the Buddha was sitting. This happened near Orīsā, in central India. Miraculously the caravan stopped, and the two men discovered the Buddha. They offered him refreshments of barley mixed with honey, but the Buddha, resolving to set an example for the community of monks, accepted only that food which was presented to him in an alms bowl. At once the Four Guardian Kings (lokapāla) of the cardinal directions offered him four bowls made of precious stone: the Buddha, however, refused them as unbefitting his estate. Then the Guardian Kings offered him four other bowls of ordinary stone. The Buddha, taking the four bowls, piled them one on top of the other to make a single vessel, which he used to hold the offerings 2 of the merchants.3 Therefore, the patra is one of the Six Personal Things 4 of a monk, the utensil which corresponds to the respectful offerings of others.⁵ On the example of the stūpa, the alms bowl as a receptacle becomes the symbol of the dharma (ho, "essence") and, consequently, is identifiable with the Buddha himself.

The pātra, as it is universally represented in the Far East, probably derives from an Indian prototype. In general, the Buddha(s) do not carry any attribute-objects, these being reserved rather for the Bodhisattvas. The pātra is an exception, however, to this custom, and it constitutes the characteristic attribute of both Amida and Shakamuni: (in

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ALMS BOWL

China) on statues of Amida, it lies on the two hands joined in the lap (in $j\bar{o}$ -in); ⁷ on statues of Shakamuni, it is borne by one hand alone.⁸ In India, Avalokiteśvara is but rarely seen among the Bodhisattvas who hold the alms bowl; Mallmann, in fact, makes mention of but one image (cf. n.6). Such would seem to be the case also in Japan, for sculptural examples of Kannon with two hands, carrying a $p\bar{a}tra$, are completely absent. Her attributes are rather the vase and the lotus, although multiple-armed



65a Ajaņţā alms bowl



65b Yakushi's medicine bowl

Kannons are frequently represented with the alms bowl. The pātra in the form of a medicine bowl (ruri-yakkon, a medicine bowl of lapis lazuli) is often carried in Japan by Yakushi. Elisséeff notes that in very ancient statues of this divinity, sometimes the bowl does not figure, but that its presence is indicated by the hands lying in the lap in such a position that they suggest its presence. This mudrā is called yakkon-in. Yakushi does not always hold the bowl in two hands but sometimes simply in one hand—the left—which he holds away from his body: 12 in this case, the other hand makes a mudrā, most often the gesture of the absence of fear (semui-in), the sentiment which the divinity is supposed to inspire.



2 Ax

Ono 斧

CH. Fu

sk. Paraśu



THEAX, fu, meaning "to cut" (according to Williams), is doubtless analogous to fu, "to begin," for in order to make any object of wood, it is necessary to begin by felling or cutting the tree. The ax is considered to symbolize, consequently, the act of building, of making, of developing (the Doctrine). It is more probable, however, that this symbolism of the ax is connected—like that of the bow, the arrow, and the sword—to the idea of protection. Since it is an arm of war, the divinities who carry it would use it to cut out all Evil which menaces the Law.

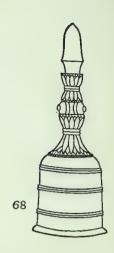
It is carried by secondary divinities, habitually those gods represented with multiple arms.²

3 Bell

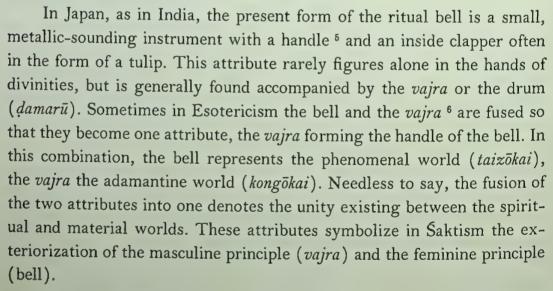
Kane¹ 鐘

CH. Chung

SK. Ghantā



The Bell is one of the most ancient of attributes, its origin going back to pre-Buddhist times. The common, utilitarian use of this instrument assured it a place in Brahmanic iconography. It is present as a symbol of Sivaite divinities,² and it may be considered as one of the specific attributes of Siva himself. The presence, therefore, of the ghantā reflects Sivaite influence on Buddhist iconography. The bell is used in all times to warn or to call; in Buddhist ritual it is used to call the faithful to prayer ³ and to the ceremonies of the cult.⁴



The bell stands for impermanence, an idea which underlies so much of Buddhist thought. "The sound which it emits is perishable: it is perceived but it may not be kept." ⁷ The phenomenal world, then, is like the sound of the bell, "it is perceived, but it may not be kept." All things are



69 Five-pronged Vajra bell

perishable; they exist through the senses of the observer but have in themselves no reality. Like dew or the sound of a bell, they are transitory. So human life, similar to the ever-receding sounds of the bell, is changing, inconstant, unstable, predestined to that impermanence which is the essence of all things.

There are five kinds of bells used by the Shingon sect in Japan. Their names derive from the vajra form of the handles.

- Goko rei: The five-pronged vajra bell
- Hō rei: The treasure bell
- Ikko rei: The single-pronged vajra bell
- Sanko rei: The three-pronged vajra bell
- To rei: The stupa bell

In the construction of a mandala or an altar, the first four are placed at each corner, while the fifth or stupa bell is situated in the middle.

The ghantā is the sporadic attribute of several divinities. Perhaps the most important are the Guardian Kings (myō-ō) 8 and Kannon with multiple arms.9 These gods almost always hold the bell in their left hand, which represents the World of Beings, the taizokai, and Wisdom.



70 Stüpa bell

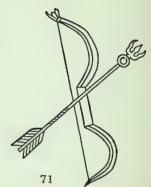
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4 Bow and Arrow

Yumi / Ya 弓矢

CH. Kung / Shih

sk. Cāpa / Śara



THE ARROW represents one of the Buddhist weapons against Evil.¹ It is often associated with the bow,² which, in statues with multiple arms, is held by the corresponding opposite hand.³ This arrangement would seem to aim at keeping the aesthetic equilibrium of the statue. There are, however, cases where the two objects are held in the same hand.

Elisséeff notes, in speaking of Aizen Myō-ō, that the arrow and the 72] bow chase away forgetfulness, which is composed of carelessness (in observing the Buddhist Precepts) and neglect (of the Law). On the other hand, according to the $H\bar{o}b\bar{o}girin$, "the bow and the arrow . . . the contact of which symbolizes Love 4 . . . represent Concentration and Wisdom, by means of which the false View of Self in the individual and in the Essences is attacked. . . ." And later, speaking of the ordinary form of this god (T. 867, chap. V), that is, Aizen with one head and six arms: ". . . in the left hand, middle, he holds a Diamond bow, in the right a Diamond arrow, as if he were discharging starlight in order to create the Essence of the Great Attraction. . . . Another form (of the divinity) called after the heavenly bow, Tenkyū Aizen, lets fly an arrow toward the sky. A three-headed form holding a bent bow and seated on a lion must have been introduced from China to Japan by Chishō Daishi in the IX century." 5

Mention may also be made of the arrow of Kāma, god of love ⁶ in Brahmanism, as well as of an Esoteric Bodhisattva, Kongō Ai Bosatsu, who is one of the Bodhisattvas surrounding Ashuku of the *kongōkai*: "he holds (sometimes) in his left hand a bow, and in the right an arrow." ⁷



72 Aizen Myō-ō

5 Conch Shell

Hora¹ 法螺

CH. Fa-lo

sk. Dharma-śankha



THE CONCH SHELL was used in ancient India as a trumpet. It served I in the army to transmit the orders of the officers to troops deployed in the field. At that time, it symbolized royalty and authority, i.e., sovereignty. It is but one step to the symbolism which was imposed on it by Brahmanism and later by Buddhism. In Brahmanism, the conch was one of the attributes most commonly used by divinities of Visnuite origin. It became, in fact, the specific symbol of Viṣṇu, who used it, by virtue of the horrific sounds it emits, to spread terror among his enemies. As an attribute of this god, it is represented in the form of a simple shell. The use of the conch in Buddhism is only an adaptation of this early symbolism. Since the original use of the conch was the diffusion of the words of the commander to the armies of men, such was the case for its use as a Buddhist symbol, for here it signifies the spreading of the Law throughout the world. The Dainichikyō 2 states: "With his left hand he transmits the Lawshell (dharma-śańkha), and again thus he expounds the gāthā." 3 And again in the Dainichikyosho it is noted: "He turns the wheel of the Law. At that time, by means of a single sound, he diffuses (the Law) in the worlds in all directions and puts all Beings (into a state of) Awakening; this is why one says 'blow the great conch.' "4

The conch symbolizes not only the act of diffusing the Law but also its universality ⁵ and its strength: in the ears of the world the Law will resound, impressive as the sound of the *hora*. This is really the voice of the Buddha, who, by an imperious call, assembles the faithful to hear the

predication of the Law-religious assembly comparable to military assembly.

Williams sees in the conch the symbol of a prosperous voyage. On the example of the spiral curls of the Buddha's hair (such being the normal shape of any Buddha's hair), he observes that, since ancient times and throughout many countries, these shells were sacred things because of the clockwise spiral, which had a mysterious connection with the sun and its course in the heavens.6

The Si-do-in-dzou 7 describes the mudrā of the conch. It is formed by bringing the hands together, without completely joining them, in such a way that the last three fingers of each hand touch at the extremities: the thumbs are erect, and the inflected indexes touch the thumbs at the base of the nail. They form what is called "the aperture of the conch" (this is the form of the mushofushi-in). The regular alignment of the fingers is meant [37 somehow to recall the circumvolution of the shell, while the opening formed by the fingers evokes the aperture of the conch itself.

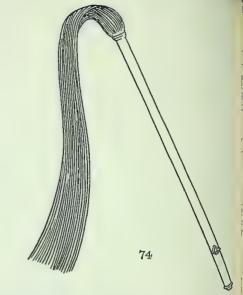
Divinities with multiple arms, especially, are seen represented with this attribute.

6 Fly Whisk

Hossu 拂子

CH. Fu-tzu

SK. Cāmara



BY MEANS OF THE FLY WHISK, said to be made correctly from a deer's tail—in Tibet from that of the Tibetan ox—the priest touches the head and the body of the disciple. By this action he symbolically repels any obstacle to enlightenment. Like the sistrum, the whisk symbolizes obedience to the Law, particularly the observance of the precept of "not-hurting," in this instance, the not-hurting of any small animal, which may be warned away by the movement of the whisk. The origin of this symbol must be attributed, in part at least, to the tradition that at birth the Buddha at once arose upright on a lotus. He was protected at this point by a parasol and a fly whisk—both of which were white.¹

The shubi—another term for hossu—is so called, according to the Gyōjishō,² because it is taken from the stag who serves as a leader for the herd of deer just as the teacher serves as a leader for his disciples. The deer follow this stag's tail (shubi) and so are safely led. The teacher holds the whisk and imparts knowledge to his pupils. The Gyōjishō notes, however, that it would constitute an infringement on the Law to make the whisk from the tail of a domestic animal. Other names for the shubi are byaku hotsu (hae-harai) 3 and hossu,4 which are defined as whisks used to chase away insects. They are made from animal hair, bark, or threads. The Binayazōji,5 in fact, notes that its use was prescribed by the Buddha and that there are five kinds: sheep's wool, hemp, finely shredded fabric, old rags, and tree branches and twigs.

According to the sādhana of the Buddha-vajrāsana, the fly whisk

should be carried in the right hand of all the "Lokeśvara" attendants of this Buddha. And it is not uncommon among Indian Buddhist trinities to find two attendants standing to the right and left of the Buddha and holding whisks. As a matter of fact, for the historical Buddha, the fly whisk, like the parasol, is a symbol of his royalty. These two attributes are either carried by attendant divinities or float through the air near him. In the hand of Kannon the fly whisk symbolizes the Compassion of the divinity, for by its use he avoids hurting even the smallest and most insignificant of creatures.

ıbsk, rho

[XXV_A

The fly whisk is often carried by ecclesiastical dignitaries. It symbolizes the spiritual direction which the master exercises over his subordinates in order to lead them toward enlightenment. The fly whisk, like the scepter, constitutes a mark of superiority for the personage who bears it. Ennin speaks of seeing the fly whisk used in Buddhist ceremonies in China. After a reading, he notes that the lecturer, "grasping his chowry, read the patrons' names one by one and made supplications for each individually. After that the debaters argued the principles, raising questions. While they were raising a question, the lecturer would hold up his chowry, and when a questioner had finished asking his questions, he would lower it and then raise it again, thank [the questioner] for his question, and then answer it." 8

(Nyo-i) shu¹ 如意珠

CH. Ju-i-chu

SK. Cintāmani



THE SANSKRIT WORD maṇi is a generic term that designates a precious stone, a jewel, and precisely a pearl.² Despite a diversity of opinion among competent authorities,³ the maṇi, as represented in Japanese sculpture, usually takes the form of a pearl: ⁴ the cintāmaṇi (nyo-i-shu) is the jewel (pearl?) which grants all wishes.

On the symbolic plane, there exist several groups ⁵ of precious objects: in Japan, the Three Jewels (tri-ratna)—i.e., the Buddha, the Dharma (Law), and the Saṅgha (Community) ⁶—is the group perhaps most frequently encountered. In śaktism, the tri-ratna assumes a larger signification: the Buddha becomes the masculine principle (upāya, hōben); the dharma (Law), feminine Knowledge (Gnosis); and the saṅgha (community), the posterity resulting from the union of this couple. ⁷ In Japan, the three jewels are often fused in a single pearl surmounted by a three-pointed flame: ⁸ but this pearl, as it appears in sculpture, is generally devoid of the fire-halo which often figures in painting. ⁹ When the flame is present in sculptural figurations, it is divided often into three tongues which meet at the top and which thus divide the stone into three equal parts. ¹⁰

In China, for Taoism, the pearl becomes the emblem of riches and prosperity.¹¹ According to one legend, this precious stone finds its origin in the luminous pearl which the Dragon King of the sea sent to Miao Chen. In Buddhism, the *maṇi* by its luminosity and its brilliance symbolizes the Buddha and the Doctrine: ¹² as a pearl, an emblem of purity,¹³ it represents the truth of the Buddha and the veracity of the Law.

According to the Esoteric doctrine, the cintāmaṇi in the form of a pearl represents the manas or sixth sense,¹⁴ and is "the 'glorious vesture of the soul,' the radiant vehicle of the divine essence which, united with matter, forms man." ¹⁵ This pearl is generally presented in a spheric, oval, or round form, sometimes even in the shape of a heart. ¹⁶ The contours of the triple fold or of the quintuple fold stand respectively for the Buddha, the dharma, and the sangha or the Five Knowledges (cf. n.27 under chi ken-in). The cintāmaṇi sometimes figures as a stūpa. And since the stūpa symbolizes the Buddha, the jewel, assuming the traits of a reliquary, represents the benevolent Buddha as granter of wishes.

Buddhist texts abound in stories concerning the origin of the jewel. In the Daijōrishurokuharamittakyō,17 there is the story of the merchant who was an example of filial piety, sacrificing himself for the welfare of his parents. Seeing, however, that they were poor and suffering, he wondered what means (hoben) he could adopt to succor them. Finally, he brought them from the sea a hō-i ju, which henceforth saved them from all sorrows and misery. As for the origin of this attribute, the Zappōzōkyō 18 reports that this jewel came from the brain of a giant fish (makara) that measures 280,000 ri in length. According to this text, the gem is named kongō-ken. Again, according to the Kambutsusammaikaikyō,19 Nanda, a Nāga king, took the heart of a garuda bird and made it into a luminous jewel, and the dharmacakravartin (i.e., the Buddha) made it into the gem which grants wishes. The Daichidoron,20 on the other hand, notes that the jewel came from the brain of a naga and that, possessing it, one may escape from harm and poisons and entering into fire one will remain unburnt; possessing it, all earthly desires are fulfilled.

The cintāmaṇi is the specific attribute of a type of Kannon known as Nyo-i-Kannon, granter of desires. As a rule, the divinity (with two arms) holds the jewel in one hand or between her two hands.²¹ In the Suiko period, one of the more common positions is that in which the two hands are held in front of the breast, one holding the jewel and the other covering it. If the divinity holds the jewel in one hand (most often the left), the arm is bent and the hand, half raised and advanced, makes the gesture of

[XXVI

offering the gem which she holds on her palm ²² or between her thumb and the middle finger. The jewel does not always appear in the hand of the divinity, but sometimes on the diadem or on the socle.²³

XXIV]

Kichijō-ten (Śrī-devī) is always represented with the wishing jewel, which in this instance symbolizes the power she has to make Beings happy by granting their wishes. The divinity holds the jewel in her left hand, while the right hand forms various mudrā, most often the segan-in. This gesture seems to be naturally associated with the cintāmaṇi: both of them make a gift and both are supposed to be able to grant the desires of the worshiper. The Saishōōkyō notes a type of dhāraṇī called "Precious Pearls which grant all desires" (nyoi hōju). These formulas are supposed to be efficacious against all kinds of calamities, including thunder and lightning. Including thunder and lightning.

Batō Kannon holds the *cintāmaṇi* in the right hand; it is white and is surrounded by a red aureole. In the *Nyoirindaraniky* \bar{o} , ²⁶ Nyoirin Bosatsu is said to bear this attribute and thereby to grant all wishes. The same is noted for Jizō ²⁷ (*Jizōbosatsudaranikyō*), who also holds this gem, by which he grants the fulfillment of all desires.

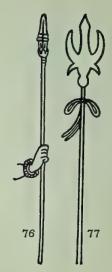
Other divinities who sporadically carry the jewel are Fugen, Monju,²⁸ and especially Hōshō (Ratnasambhava), whose distinctive attribute it is.²⁹

8 Lance and Trident

Hoko / Sanko geki 矛 三鈷戟

CH. Mou / San-ku-chi

SK. Kunta / Triśūla 1



THESE TWO INSTRUMENTS, which were ancient weapons of war and of the hunt throughout Asia, constituted early in Buddhist iconography symbolic arms against Evil. In India the *triśūla* was used in aniconic representations,² along with the wheel, etc., and stood for the Buddha essence. The trident also appears in China as an attribute of Taoist divinities. In Tantric, Lamaistic Buddhism the *triśūla* is an exorcising instrument, a magic wand to conjure power over demons.

The trident is, as it were, the end-point in the evolution of the single-pointed lance.³ In India, the *triśūla* takes the form of a triple pike made of metal and often mounted on a wooden shaft. On the handle, around which sometimes is entwined a snake,⁴ figure various religious emblems, signs of power and authority. In Tibet, these emblems include dried skulls; such funereal emblems are regularly absent in Japan.

This symbolic object must derive from other sources than Buddhism or even Jainism. These two systems seem to have taken over an ancient symbol of fire, from which they created the trident symbol for their own religious iconography. Fire symbolism is associated with the vajra and these two attributes may have a similar origin. The trident, however, is to be symbolically identified with the pillar which "supports apart" heaven and earth and, in fact, is the axis of the universe. Combaz would see in this triform attribute an affinity with the wheel 6 that represents the Buddha and the Law. In fact, the juxtaposition or superposition of these two emblems produces a composite symbol which is known as the vardhamāna. This sign goes back much further than Buddhism: 8 it is



78 Indian Triśūla

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79 Trident support

[78

80 Triśūla and Law Wheel

LANCE AND TRIDENT

already present on a seal from Mohenjo-daro, where a seated personage, surrounded by a lion, a bull, and an elephant, wears a trident-shaped head-dress.⁹

Senart sees in the *triśūla* a symbol of fire. And significantly, the trident is a sign "naturally representing either the three aspects of Agni Vaiśvānara, or the primordial Agni as the triunity of the several angles." Such a relationship, moreover, would speak in favor of this attribute as a symbol for Siva. One cannot help but see here too a parallelism with the *vajra*, for the handle of the trident, like that of the *vajra*, is most certainly closely connected with the Pillar (*stambha*) that "supports apart" heaven and earth. The symbolism most commonly ascribed

to this attribute is that of power, 12 authority, and protection. In addition, the three tines of the trident may be said to represent the three Jewels (tri-ratna): that is, Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Community.

The trident is often present in the hands of the Guardian Kings, who, by routing the demons of Evil, protect and defend the Doctrine. It is also carried by Izana-ten (Iśāna). By the trident, Monju symbolizes the spreading of the word through his three acts (works, speech, thought), and Kannon with multiple arms the dissemination of her Compassion.



82 Munosho's trident

Mallmann speaks of a triple-stick (tridanda) ¹⁵ which normally accompanies the water vase in the statues of Avalokiteśvara in India. This triform instrument is, nevertheless, distinct from the trident. The triple-stick was originally intended to be used as a tripod support for a vase, and it evolved into a kind of fork with three points. No example of the triple-stick exists in Japan, to the knowledge of the present writer.



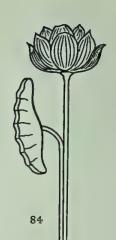
83 Eki Dōji's trident



Renge 蓮華

CH. Lien-hua

SK. Padma



THE LOTUS, one of the oldest Buddhist symbols, is among the most frequently represented attributes both in painting and in sculpture. It has developed a very considerable symbolism.

The lotus flower, by reproducing from its own matrix, rather than in the soil, is a symbol of spontaneous generation (svayambhū).1 And the lotus which serves as seat or throne for the Buddha(s) 2 indicates, therefore, divine birth.3 The Adi-Buddha (first Buddha) is manifested as a flame springing from a lotus flower.4 Popular imagination, particularly in Amidist sects, has established an identification of the lotus flower with Sentient Beings. The blossom of the lotus offered by the worshiper to the divinity signifies the surrender of his own existence to its origin, the abandonment of his own nature to the Buddha, the renouncement of an independent existence.⁵ The lotus flower arising from the waters represents usually "the ground (pṛthivī) or substance of existence, both that whereon and that wherein existence is established firmly amidst the sea of possibility." 6 Northern Buddhists believe in the existence of a lotus pond in the Western Paradise of the Amida Buddha. At the birth of a Buddhist, a lotus bud is thought to emerge on the surface of the water and, according to the life of the believer, to flourish or wither.

The lotus grows in mud, yet rises immaculate to the surface of the water to bloom: thus it symbolizes purity and perfection. On the example of the lotus, the Buddha was born into the world but exists above the world. Like the lotus, whose fruits are mature at the moment of the blooming of the flower, Truth, preached by the Buddha, produces

immediately the fruit of enlightenment.⁸ The lotus signifies ontologically a solid base in the middle of the possibilities of existence, a birth and a manifestation which are produced essentially in the intelligible world and later also in the world of the senses; it signifies ethically the detachment particular to him who is in the world but who is not attached to it.⁹

The lotus becomes by extension the symbol of summer, of fruit-fulness, 10 of strength, both spiritual and material. 11 Tantrism makes of it the emblem of the feminine principle. This evolution ends logically in Saktism, where the lotus has the role of symbolizing the female sexual



85 Nyorai-ge on lotus



86 Blue lotus of Gakkō Bosatsu

organ; in support of this, the Satapatha Brahmāṇa affirms that the "lotus leaf is the matrix." The vajra becomes then the symbol of the male sexual member, and the representation of the vajra on the lotus, which is often encountered, symbolizes the union of masculine and feminine, of Knowledge and Principle, the expression of fulminatory identification with the godhead.

The lotus as symbol of the Matrix World $(taiz\bar{o}kai)$ appears in the mantra "oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ": the lotus (padma) represents the material element $(taiz\bar{o}kai)$ and the jewel (maṇi) the spiritual element $(kong\bar{o}kai)$. The same is true of the lotus in the vase $(=kong\bar{o}kai)$, where lotus and vase represent the union of the spiritual and the material.

Lotus flowers may be divided into three general groups according to their color: 12 the red lotus 13 with rounded petals, the blue lotus 14 with pointed petals, and the white lotus. 15 These lotuses may take different forms. The red lotus (padma) is usually represented fully opened, the center exposed, while the blue lotus may be represented either with all the petals erect or with several rows of outer petals bent down; the center of this type is always hidden. In China and Japan, for divinities who carry this flower in their hand or in a vase,16 the lotus bud is the most common form. There is also variation in the shape of the buds. Three forms are found especially in painting.17 The three-stemmed lotus symbolizes the three divisions of the taizokai mandara (Buddha = Vairocana, Lotus, and Vajra) 18 as well as the Three Virtues of a Buddha,19 by which the divinity attains to enlightenment and to knowledge in order to save all Beings. The five-stemmed lotus 20 represents the Five Knowledges of the kongōkai. 87 Three-stemmed The lotus fully opened is seen most often in the form of a flower with eight petals, which represent the Eightfold Path; the whole symbolizes the Teaching of the Buddha. There exists a connection between the lotus with eight petals and the wheel of the Law with eight spokes (cf. temborin-in). Both represent the superiority and the strength of the Law.

In representations of the mandara, the lotus with eight petals lends itself particularly well to the figuration of the usual eight mandala divinities: the center is reserved for the principal god and the petals 21 for the attendants. In sculpture, the lotus may serve as a throne 22 either in the form of a seat to support the statue of a divinity or in the form of a flower sustaining each foot,23 for the "characteristic of the lotus leaf is to support all the worlds, puṣkara-parṇasya sarvajagad-dhārakatva." 24 As a throne (cf. supra, p. 122), the lotus has the advantage that it can be enlarged; it is hence adaptable to statues of different dimensions. Very often the throne is composed of an open lotus, stylized, whose outer row of petals are bent down over the socle, with which they fuse and which they hide. (It is not the object of this study to consider in detail the evolution of the lotus as a throne. This development has been studied in other works 25 to which the reader may refer.)





88 Five-stemmed lotus

Since the lotus is universally used as a seat for the Buddha, it is natural that this flower became associated with sovereignty. This relationship would be proof, moreover, of iconographic contamination with the wheel (cf. temborin-in). The Buddha as Universal King makes it his seat. Hence, when divinities other than the Buddha use the lotus, they assume those qualities symbolic of the authority represented by the dais in lotus form.

The lotus, symbol of mercy and compassion, is one of the most ancient attributes associated with the divinity Kannon.26 In India, the water vase may be considered as the oldest attribute 27 of Avalokiteśvara,28 but the red lotus (padma) is the most frequent. It symbolizes the creative force of Padmapāṇi. Mallmann divides the lotus which Avalokiteśvara holds into five groups: The first is constituted by the "lotus in the form of a ball, seen in profile . . . and situated at the end of a long stem which the Bodhisattva holds in his left hand." It suggests the form of a closed, double tulip. The model is present from the VIII century at Nālandā. The second group, constituted by the lotus in the form of a ball observed in full front view, appears only in Pāla-Sena art.29 It is the third group, "the naturalistic lotus, seen in front view" which is the most frequent. Present from the Gupta art of Nālandā on, it persists throughout the most decadent art. It is represented in the form of a large double dahlia in full bloom. A long subsidiary stem (which springs from the same trunk as the seat) sometimes supports a water vase. This lotus is also the attribute of Srī and of Sūrya, whose groups are composed of "naturalistic lotuses, seen in profile," with one row of petals for the fourth group and two rows for the fifth group.

In China, the lotus continues to be the most frequent attribute of Kuan-yin. The Bodhisattva usually holds in her right hand a lotus bud situated at the end of a long stem; often in her left hand she holds a vase. From about the VI century on, a willow branch, either in a vase or in one hand, may take the place of the lotus.³⁰ In Japan during the Suiko period, this same willow branch attests the continuity of this usage imported from Sui China.³¹ Habitually, at this time, Kannon holds the lotus in



89 Kuan-yin's willow branch either hand.³² When the divinity has a lotus in one hand, the other may either hold a vase, or form a mudrā, very often the *segan-in*.

The lotus is also the attribute of other divinities: the Knowledge 33 Kings $(my\bar{o}-\bar{o})$; Jiz \bar{o} , 34 who may be represented with a yellow lotus under one foot and a white lotus under the other; 35 Amida, "notably in the circles (of the two Worlds) where [he] figures seated on a lotus seat (symbolizing the purity which his Esoteric name implies)"; 36 and the

[55, 72, 85, 86, XVIII



90 Yasodharā's willow branch

historical Buddha, who is often represented seated on a lotus throne. According to tradition, after attaining enlightenment the Buddha hesitated to teach the Doctrine. He decided to do so mainly through a vision in which he saw Sentient Beings like so many lotuses. Some had risen to the light and had no need of help; some were so deeply immersed that there was no hope that they would ever rise; some were near the surface of the water and needed but little assistance to come forth into the light. He resolved, by spreading the Buddhist Doctrine, to bring the latter to full bloom.³⁷ Among other divinities having the lotus as an attribute, we may note: Jishibosatsu (Miroku) of the *taizōkai mandara*, in the north-

east, carrying a lotus in a vase in his right hand; ³⁸ and Monju, holding a lotus which represents the teaching of the Buddha and which supposedly takes the place of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. ³⁹ Last of all, mention may be made of the lotus which serves as throne to support an image or a statue of a holy man, a Buddha, or a Bodhisattva. In the first case, it is the emblem of Buddhist qualities and symbolizes the Law: as a throne of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, it symbolizes most particularly the sovereignty of the personage represented, or the authority of the Law.

10 Mirror

Kagami¹ 鏡

CH. Ching

sk. Ādarśa



THE MIRROR symbolizes the image of void, for it reflects all the factors of the phenomenal word, but deprives them of substance.² The phenomenal world is thus exactly illustrated, for all substance is illusory, every thing is no more than the subjective idea one has of it. As Glasenapp says: "The mirror is supposed to make known that no transitory factor of existence (dharma) has any more self-reality than the reflection which it presents in the mirror." It thus represents the notion of the evanescence of material illusion, that which is "idea" as contrasted to that which is "phenomenon."

It is carried by Avalokiteśvara ⁴ with multiple arms and constitutes the distinctive attribute of Ashuku.⁵ And, of course, it is the special attribute of Nichiten, the sun god, in whose hands it represents the solar disk.

[56, 72

11 Reliquary

Sotoba¹/ tō 率都婆 塔

CH. Shuai-tu-p'o / t'a

sk. Stūpa



THE SYMBOLISM of the small attribute stūpa, carried by certain divinities in the form of a pagoda, takes its inspiration from the symbolism of the great reliquary-stūpa.

The origins ² of the stūpa go back to pre-Buddhist times. The stūpa at Sāñcī, clearly reveals a funerary intention; it is nothing more than an immense reliquary intended to contain a venerated relic of the historical Buddha. At Sāñcī, moreover, definite rules for ambulatory practices and for the veneration of the relic were early elaborated: the construction of the reliquary was a pious deed. It was, however, under the influence of Tantrism in the VI–VIII centuries that the "making of the stūpa" ³ was accomplished with the purpose of extracting the *vajra* (magical power), and the rites connected with this were analogous to those of the circumambulation of the reliquary. The basic texts of Tantrism speak of the stūpa, which on the material and metaphysical planes was identified specifically with the historical Buddha. In chapter XI of the *Lotus of the Good Law*, ⁴ for example, a marvelous stūpa is described:

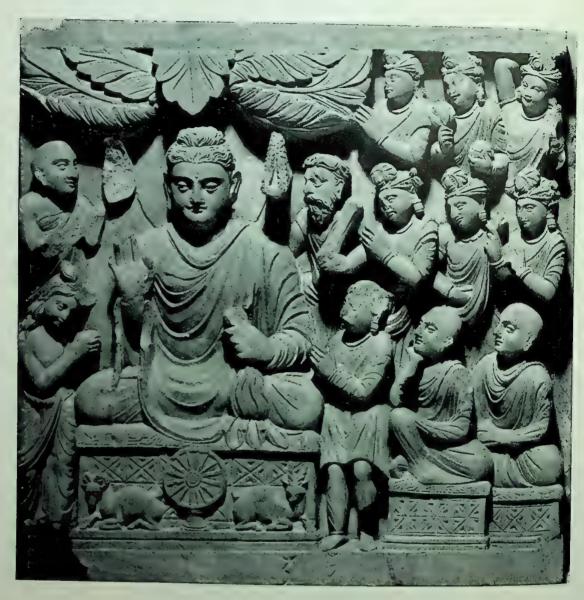
"Then there arose a Stūpa, consisting of seven precious substances, from the place of the earth opposite the Lord, the assembly being in the middle, a Stūpa five hundred yojanas in height and proportionate in circumference. After its rising, the Stūpa, a meteoric phenomenon, stood in the sky sparkling, beautiful, nicely decorated with five thousand successive terraces of flowers, adorned with many thousands of arches, embellished by thousands of banners and triumphant streamers, hung with thousands of jewel-garlands and with

Plates

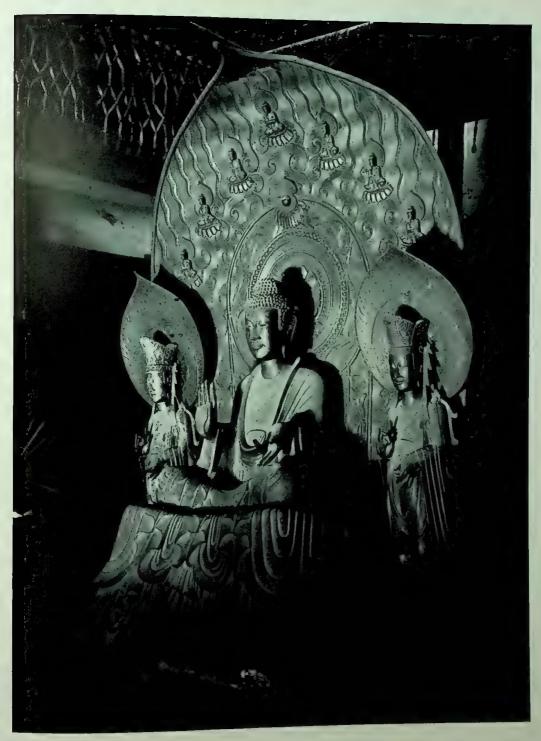




SHAKAMUNI, JAPAN



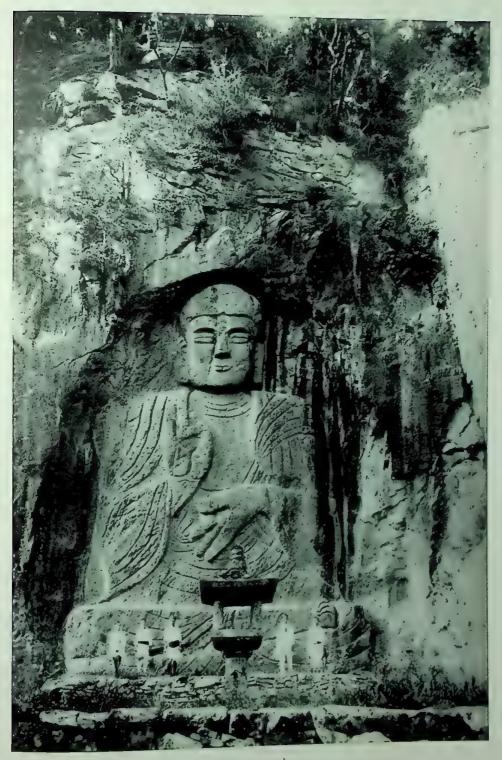
BUDDHA PREACHING, GANDHARA



SHAKA TRINITY. JAPAN



BUDDHA, JAPAN



MIRJOK (MAITREYA). KOREA



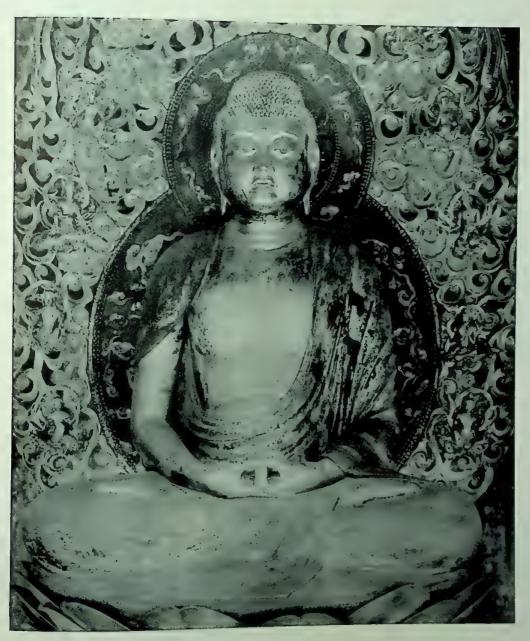
BUDDHA. THAILAND



SEISHI (?) BOSATSU. JAPAN



BUDDHA. THAILAND



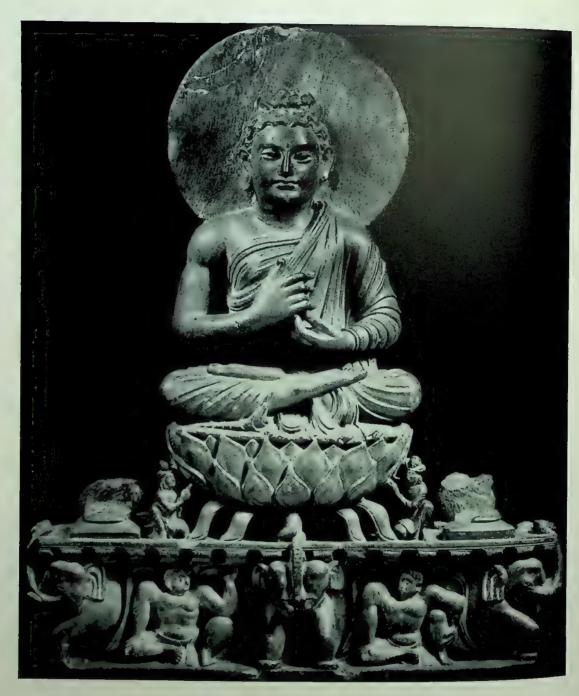
AMIDA, JAPAN



BUDDHA, CEYLON



BUDDHA PREACHING. GANDHARA



BUDDHA PREACHING, GANDHARA



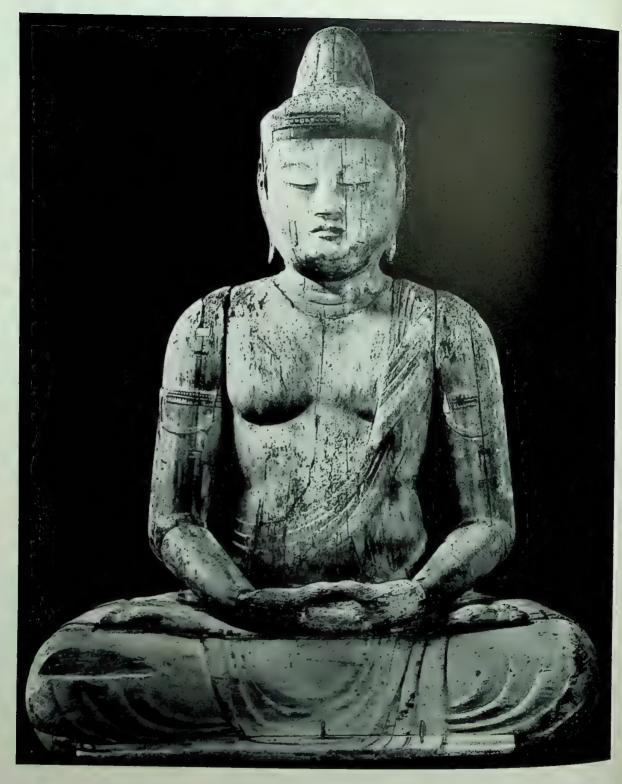
MAITREYA. TIBET



DAINICHI NYORAL JAPAN



KONGÖGE BOSATSU. JAPAN



DAINICHI NYORAI, JAPAN



MIROKU, JAPAN



KANNON. JAPAN



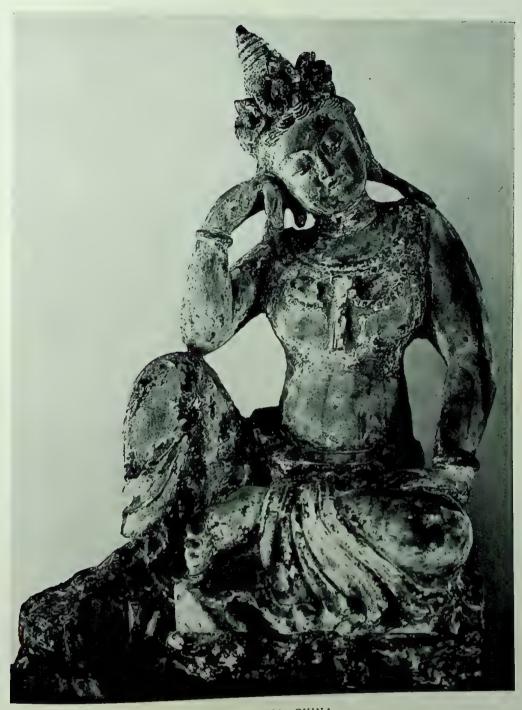
A. NINE-FACED KANNON. KOREA



B. BODHISATTVA. KOREA



BUDDHA. CHINA



BODHISATTVA. CHINA





B. STŪPA. NEPAL

XXH



"KUDARA" KANNON. JAPAN



KICHIJÖ-TEN. JAPAN



A. THE MONK IKKYŪ. JAPAN



B. THE MONK SHINRAN. JAPAN

XXV



NYO-I-RIN KANNON, JAPAN

hour-plates and bells, and emitting the scent of xanthochymus and sandal, which scent filled this whole world. . . .

"At the sight of that great Stūpa of precious substances, that meteoric phenomenon in the sky, the four classes of hearers were filled with gladness, delight, satisfaction, and joy. Instantly they rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and remained standing in that position. . . .

"(A voice issues from the Stūpa, and, questioned concerning the person to whom it [the voice] belonged, the Bhagavat responds:) In this great Stūpa of precious substances, Mahāpratibhāna, the proper body of the Tathāgata is contained condensed; his is the Stūpa; it is he who causes this sound to go out. . . .

"Let my Stūpa here, this Stūpa of my proper bodily frame (or form), arise wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law is propounded, and let it stand in the sky above the assembled congregation when this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law is being preached by some Lord Buddha or another. . . ."

The important place of the stūpa was assured in traditional Buddhism, and in its turn, Tantrism lost no time in developing the iconographic symbolism. The introduction of bones in the stūpa endowed it, as it were, with a secret life; these sacred remains constituted at once material and spiritual relics. Since the reliquary contained a material part of the Buddha, its identification with the Buddha himself followed naturally. By simple extension, then, the edifice came to symbolize the spiritual body (dharmakāya) because it contained those material remains which represent the essence of the Buddha. Moreover, Buddhism, by adopting the notion of the universal sovereign, compared the Buddha to the King of the Universe, and the identification of the stūpa with the body of the Buddha made it possible for this attribute to assume the symbolism of sovereignty.

Intended to hold specifically the reliques of the Buddha Sākyamuni, the building itself became, even in the beginning, the object of an

assiduous veneration. The stūpa naturally came to constitute an object of meditation precisely because it was identifiable with the supreme divinity. But this extension goes even further: the stūpa whose base represents the earth, and whose dome the heavenly spaces, becomes, according to Mus, "the magical representation of the universe, a microcosm intended for meditation."

XXIIB]

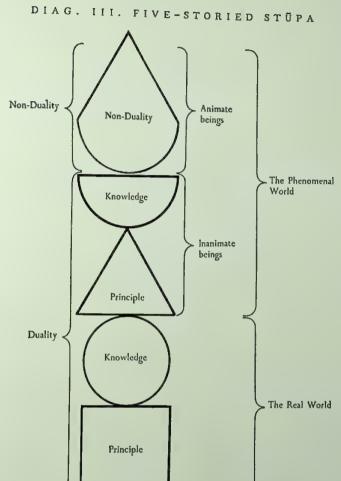
The form of the stupa, according to the tradition, was imposed by the historical Buddha himself. $S\bar{a}$ kyamuni, in order to give the first model of a stupa to his faithful, inverted his alms bowl ($p\bar{a}tra$) on top of his clothing folded square and thus formed the dome and the base of the edifice. And



93 Bishamon holding stūpa

according to Combaz, the "production in architecture, in sculpture, in painting is accomplished at once on a material and on a metaphysical plane which may finally fuse: the sculptured stone is no longer the image of the god, it is the god himself, just as the edifice, erected by the architect, inspired by the gods, and conceived according to his religious and cosmological concepts, becomes the actual receptacle of the divinity." The entire structure represents the universe; the base (Mount Meru) is surrounded by the heavenly dome, and both are connected by a central mast which plays the role of the cosmic axis. Later, under Tantric influence, a sort of stylized stūpa appears, composed of geometric forms and bodies. According to the Shingon explanation, this type of stūpa symbolizes the Buddha Dainichi, as supreme divinity, ultimate reality, "who, underlying all things, manifests himself in the Five Elements of the world and in nonrepresented conscience, because it is invisible like the sixth

Diag. III]



element." ¹¹ The symbolism of the classical reliquary-stūpa is different from that of the five-storied geometric stūpa: the first emphasizes the cosmogony of Mount Meru as well as different series of Buddhist qualities; ¹² the second puts the accent on the Esoteric concept of the duality-

non-duality of Knowledge and Principle.

In the geometric stūpa, the various superposed forms are given an interpretation of a cosmic nature. The two geometric bodies ¹³ which form the base of the five-storied stūpa represent the fundamental elements (hontai) of the Real World (jitsu-zai-kai). The three others which are

superposed on these two basic forms represent the Transmutation Substances (hentai) of the Phenomenal World (gen-shō-kai). These interconnections emphasize the co-existence of the spiritual and phenomenal worlds, kongōkai and taizōkai.

Things are by their nature difficult to displace: thus the unmovable square, which serves as the base of the monument, constitutes an exact symbol of this concept. In the same way, the circle, which rests upon the square base and which may be easily turned, symbolizes perfectly the heart (kokoro) – for, according to the Shingon sect, kokoro is the abbreviation of the onomatopoeia goro-goro, which expresses the sound of the turning wheel. The $kong\bar{o}kai$, the circle, is placed on the $taiz\bar{o}kai$, the square: thus, the spiritual is superior to the material, upon which it is nevertheless grounded. Together, these two bodies (square and circle) constitute the so-called "Form of the Real World."

The phenomenal is founded on the Real World and is symbolized by geometric forms (triangle, half circle), which are modifications of those representing the Real World (the square and the circle). Thus from two fundamental bodies are taken four modified shapes. One may discern two symbolic groupings among these five geometric forms: (1) "things" which are born (and which therefore die); (2) "things" which are not born (and which consequently do not die). The second group is represented by the triangle and the half circle-respectively ri (Principle) and chi (Knowledge). The first group is represented by a geometric body formed by the fusion of a triangle and a half circle (symbol of things which are born, and which die). In order to symbolize the highest degree, ri (triangle) and chi (half circle) are united in one single form, that of a half circle surmounted by a triangle. Thus the three upper bodies differ from the lower bodies by their form, but are identical by their quantity. The topmost body symbolizes the fundamental unity of the kongōkai and the taizokai; the two bottommost bodies symbolize their separation, i.e., duality-non-duality.

Since the five-storied stūpa expresses the theory of the two worlds, it becomes an object symbolic of taizōkai Dainichi.¹⁴

Combaz' particularly interesting study on the evolution of the stupa in Asia may furnish a number of details for the reader concerning the different aspects of the reliquary-stupa. In the period between the II century B.C. and the VI-VII centuries of the Christian cra, it may be noted that in all of India, the more or less flattened upper part of the edifice serves as a base for the superstructure. In Java, almost all stupa take the form of an inverted bell, with the top almost horizontal and the lower edges slightly flaring.15 In Burma, between the X and XIII centuries, the stupa is like the one in Java. From the XII century on, there may be noted a tendency to raise the dome and to let the edges flare more. In Tibet, the hemispheric form takes the lead: the stupa tends to be recessed at the bottom rather than flaring, and this shape follows Lamaism in its expansion through China, Mongolia, and Manchuria. In China, during the first centuries of the Christian era, the hemispheric form imported from India appears. In the VII-VIII centuries, a tendency may be noted to suppress the dome and to construct towers in story-like sections, which scarcely evoke at all the silhouette of the stūpa such as it had been known in India. In Korea and Japan it is the same. Yet the Japanese funerary monuments, formed by a high cylinder whose upper part is rounded, recall the original dome of the Indian stupa.

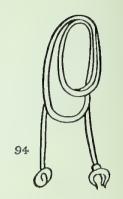
The stūpa, as a symbolic object, is attributed most frequently to the Guardian Kings. ¹⁶ In Japanese sculpture, it figures regularly in the form of a pagoda $(t\bar{o})$, whose aspect varies considerably. ¹⁷ Statues often hold a little stūpa of geometric forms, however—a type which lends itself easily to sculptural representation. Very often the mast, on Japanese pagodas for instance, is prolonged, and the attribute takes on a more slender silhouette. Sacred texts assign to the Guardian Kings a considerable choice of attributes, ¹⁸ of which the stūpa is one. Among these divinities the reliquary becomes the particular attribute of Tamonten: ¹⁹ he holds it almost invariably in his left hand. In India, especially, the stūpa constitutes the distinctive attribute of Maitreya. ²⁰ According to the Jikkanshō, it is characteristic of $(taiz\bar{o}kai)$ Dainichi, who holds it in his hands joined in $j\bar{o}-in.$ ²¹

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Kensaku 羂索

CH. Lo-so

SK. $P\bar{a}\dot{s}a$



THE KNOT of the rope, which derives perhaps from the swastika, is supposed to be an angular knot, the mystic sign of the breast of Viṣṇu.¹ According to Williams,² the knot is one of the signs which figure on the feet of the Buddha. It represents his sacred entrails. In India, the slip knot must have been, however rare, one of the attributes of Avalokiteśvara.³ It is also the attribute of Varuṇa, who uses it to bind demons: in sculpture it resembles a kind of ring fixed on a shaft by which it is held.

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Kensaku ⁴ signifies the rope or snare with which creatures are caught and bound. In Buddhism, this attribute symbolizes the love of the Buddha and Bodhisattva for all Sentient Beings, whom they catch and lead to salvation with the help of the rope. The $p\bar{a}\dot{s}a$ may have three symbolic interpretations: ⁵ that of tying (in this instance, the four demons); that of attracting and holding, for the efficient Means of the Great Compassion may take away all illusion and cause the adept to enter into the hokkai mandara; and, last of all, that of nirvāṇa, the immovable. In order to illustrate the Three Studies, ⁶ the example of the robber and the rope is classical: (1) the thief is beaten (with the rope = kai, "Precepts"); (2) he is tied (by the rope = $j\bar{o}$, "Concentration"); and (3) he is killed (by the rope = e, "Wisdom"). In contrast to the rope, the sword, mobile as the wind, is Wisdom, which can kill Evil: it is held in the right hand. The cord, on the other hand, immobile like void, is Concentration which can bind Evil: it is held in the left hand.

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The rope is one of the fourteen basic attributes of Fudō, who uses it in order to tie demons and evildoers and thus to protect the Law. The

divinity almost always holds this attribute in his left hand,⁷ more rarely in his right; ⁸ in the opposite hand he invariably holds the sword. Together sword and rope represent the indivisibility of knowledge and principle.

In Japan the rope is among the attributes of a type of Avalokiteśvara known as Fukūkensaku Kannon. The title refers to the fact that the snare (kensaku) is not empty $(fuk\bar{u})$, that is, the divinity is continually snaring Sentient Beings in order to lead them to salvation. This is one of the types of Kannon in the $taiz\bar{o}kai$ section. Esoteric $(kong\bar{o}kai)$ Asura carry the "stick of Yama" $(p\bar{a}sa)$ surmounted by a human head. 10

The $p\bar{a}$ sa symbolizes the Buddhist precepts: ¹¹ interdiction to kill, to steal, to be lascivious, to lie, to drink alcoholic beverages. A vajra may be attached to the end of the cord: in this case, the attribute is called vajra- $p\bar{a}$ sa (vajra rope), which is used to bind the hordes of Māra. ¹²

95 Rope hand

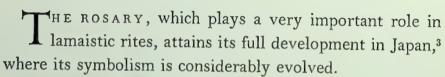


13 Rosary

Nenju¹ 念珠

CH. Nien-chu

SK. Mālā 2



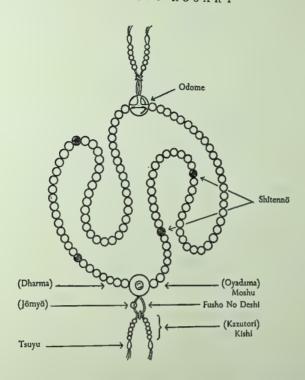
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The short rosary of eighteen beads, symbolizing the Eighteen Arhat,⁴ is to be encountered considerably less frequently than the ordinary chaplet of 108 beads. (Rosaries

may number also 9, 21, 42, or 54 beads. The total number of beads does not include the four shitenno beads, occurring at intervals of seven and fourteen and used to facilitate counting, as explained below.) The 108bead form is in particular favor with the Shingon sect. The 108 beads symbolize the 108 passions (bonno) or the 108 divinities of the kongokai, and sometimes also the 108 Knowledges.5 According to Williams, the 1086 beads are meant to assure that the name of the Buddha be repeated at least one hundred times, the eight supplementary beads being present in order to make up for omissions or to replace beads which may be broken. But more probably 108 is chosen because it is traditionally an ideal number, a multiple of nine, which itself bears the greatest potential of variation.6a At the ends of the Tibetan rosary there generally are three beads somewhat larger than the rest. These symbolize the Buddhist trinity (Buddha, Doctrine, Community) 7 and indicate to the celebrant that the end of a complete cycle of prayers has been reached. The cord which passes through the beads represents the penetrating power of the Law.8 When the celebrant begins telling the beads, the jomyo, or counter bead, is

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DIAG. IV. ROSARY



slipped up the string; at the completion of a cycle it is slipped down. Sometimes several jōmyō beads occur.

Gonda Raifu explains the symbolism of the Shingon rosary in the following manner: "As a general rule, the rosary originally had an oyadama. The kazutori [see Diag. IV] includes ten beads and symbolizes the Ten Perfections. The two beads preceding the kazutori (usually called tsuyu, from the fact that they resemble drops of dew, tsuyu) symbolize the Double Marvellous Fruit which is Enlightenment (bodhi) and nirvana. This means that one is able, by ascending the chain of the Ten Perfections, to reach this Double Fruit. The rosary of 108 beads has two oyadama by which it is 'divided' into two strands of 54 beads." 9

In general, the 108-bead rosary may be considered as two strands of 54 beads. This, at least, is true of the 108-bead type brought to Japan from China by Kōbō Daishi. Hence there are two oyadama, each belonging

[Diag. IV

to one strand of 54 beads. In practice the fingers progress, in counting, from one *oyadama* to the other, at which point the direction is reversed and the counting is carried on back again to the *oyadama* from which one began. The counting never follows the 108 beads in succession.

The method of holding the rosary in Shingon ritual is the following: first, the sepp \bar{o} -in (q.v.) is formed by both hands. The rosary is then placed over the middle finger of the right hand and over the index of the left. The palms of the hands face each other. There are, of course, numerous formulas that may be recited by the aid of the rosary. One example will suffice: it is the frequently used "Namu Daishi henjo kongo," "Homage to the great Teacher, Universal, Adamantine Illuminator." This formula is to be recited seven times, or three times seven times (i.e., twenty-one times) by counting to the second shitenn \bar{o} bead. During the ritual, the rosary when not in use is suspended from the left wrist, in a single strand, with the oyadama at the top. When it is in use - the times are indicated by the striking of a bell during the ceremony-it is held in the left hand, in double strand, with all the kazutori on the inside. When the rosary is being put away, it is folded into three loops with the two oyadama at the top. First, the top kazutori are folded inward and then the under kazutori are folded in over them.10

Texts note the use of the rosary in pre-Buddhist India, where it was

one of the attributes of Brahmā. In Buddhist India, the rosary constitutes a

special attribute of Avalokiteśvara. Mallmann ¹¹ states that its use by this divinity "is constant from Gupta art of Mahārāṣṭra ¹² until the decline of the Sena style in Bengal." The origin of the rosary as an attribute of Avalokiteśvara would seem to be in the Lotus of the Good Law, where the Bodhisattva Akṣayamati, addressing the Buddha, speaks of a wonderful pearl necklace presented to the Bodhisattva Kannon. Since the 108 beads represent the passions (bonnō) of the world, the rosary carried by Kannon signifies that the divinity herself by her compassion assumes these pas-

sions which bind the worshiper to the world, and liberates ¹⁴ him thus from the hindrance of desires. Since Kannon is the Bodhisattva emanating from the *dhyāni*-Buddha Amida, it is natural that the rosary should constitute

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also a distinguishing symbol for this Buddha. Gonda Raifu establishes an identification between the Buddha Amida and the oyadama (mother bead) because Amida, by a sort of play on words in the reading of the ideographs, is the "mother" of Kannon. Thus the oyadama is Amida, and the power of the State of Compassion (taihi sammai) characteristic of Kannon is precisely that virtue which permits reincorporation with the Buddha Amida. Hence the red cord, signifying the Compassion of Kannon, which runs through the oyadama (Amida), signifies this return or embodiment into the Buddha. It is the mediating power of the Bodhisattva which facilitates the access of Sentient Beings to Buddhahood.

Numerous holy men ¹⁶ carry the rosary. In Esoteric pictures of Kōbō Daishi, the rosary which he holds in his left hand stands for Fudō Myō-ō and for the Matrix World (taizōkai). For the meaning of the vajra which he holds in his right hand, consult the section devoted to the kongō (pp. 184 ff.).

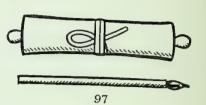
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14 Scroll and Brush

O-kyō / Fude か經 筆

CH. Ching/pi

SK. Pustaka



THE SCROLL and the brush are generally represented together, but, like the bow and the arrow, they may figure separately. In the first case, they are arranged in opposite hands; ¹ in the second, they are often carried by a left hand.

The scroll represents the sacred texts of the Buddhist canon, the depository of the Truth.² The single scroll represents then the whole of the *Tripiṭaka* and may be said, by extension, to stand for the entire Doctrine.

Mallmann speaks of the book which should be one of the objects carried by Avalokiteśvara in India: 3 such a book is made by binding together, by means of cords, the rectangular palm leaves which make up Sanskrit manuscripts. Mallmann has encountered in India only five multiple-armed statues of Avalokiteśvara in which one left hand holds a book (pustaka): the existence of others, however, may be postulated. The book as a symbol of the whole canon exists, of course, in China and Japan; but rather than the Indian pustaka, the scroll becomes a much more common symbol in these countries. It is probably a question of the transformation of "book" into scroll through the fact that, in China and Japan, it was in scroll form that the Buddhist canon regularly appeared. Consequently, for the Far East at least, the scroll rather than the book may be said to constitute a more immediately understandable symbol.

In Japan, the scroll and the brush are held by the Guardian Kings ⁴ in order to symbolize the doctrine which they protect, sometimes by Kannon with multiple arms ⁵ and sometimes by dignitaries of a secular character. ⁶

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98 Tibetan and Indian books



Shakujō² 錫杖

CH. Hsi-chang SK. Khakkhara 3



THE KHAKKHARA spread throughout the Far East (China, Korea, Japan) by following the path of Buddhist penetration through Central Asia. As early as the V century, it may be seen at Tun Huang.4 Its presence there indicates a Central Asian origin and refutes the older thesis of a Chinese or Japanese source for this attribute.

The historical Buddha himself commanded mendicant priests to provide themselves with a khakkhara. Being obliged to observe the rule of silence, the monk, in order to announce his presence, rings his sistrum in front of the door of the houses he visits. Moreover, Buddhism forbids harming any living thing. Thus the sistrum by its noise warns animals, insects, or birds of the approach of the priest, who in this way, may avoid killing inadvertently as he walks. In like fashion, the sistrum wards off dangerous animals from the path of the mendicant. Furthermore, its noise blurs the distractions of mundane life from which the monk ceaselessly tries to withdraw.5 It is noted in the Shibunritsu (LII) that "the disciples of the Buddha, seeing snakes, scorpions, centipedes in the path of their wanderings and not being sufficiently emancipated from their material desires, were frightened and notified their master of this pass." The Buddha spoke, saying: "I permit you to take up the shakujo and to shake it." 6 According to another text, the shakujo is not limited to warning away dangerous creatures. Its use is threefold: against serpents, for the old, and for those who live on alms (pindapātika). For the latter it is to be used when they beg; for the old, as a help in walking.6a The Ubasokugokaiigikyō reports that the shakujō "is to be shaken three times for getting food, and on various [other] occasions. If three [times] produces no results, try five; if five is unavailing, try seven; if seven is useless, go on to another house." 6b

The Buddhist sistrum is regularly made of a sort of hexagonal handle, usually of wood,7 surmounted by a metal finial, which may be of various forms. In the finial, where the vital force resides, there are, on each side of the central axis, an even number (4, 6, 12) of rings. When the instrument is shaken, these rings in striking each other produce a resounding noise, whence the name "the stick which has voice (ushōjō)." The number of rings varies, theoretically at least, according to the station of the personage who carries the sistrum; this number is provided with a symbolism in relation to the bearer. Therefore ideally the mendicant priest carries a four-ring sistrum,8 representing the Four Truths;9 the Bodhisattva carries a sistrum with six rings 10 representing the Six Perfections; the Buddha(s) (that is, the Pratyekabuddha 11) carry a sistrum with twelve rings representing the twelvefold chain of cause and effect. During the T'ang dynasty an all-metal, four-ring shakujō was used, but I-ching claims that this is not according to the original specifications. 12 In Japan at present, the shakujo commonly used has six rings in two sections or twelve rings in four sections.

Other names for the sistrum may replace that of shakujō. The Shaku-jōkyō ¹³ reports: "The Buddha said to the bhikṣu (mendicant monks): ⁶ 'You will take the shakujō because the Buddhas of past, future, and present all take it up. It is also called the chi-jō (Knowledge staff) because it reveals divine Knowledge: it is called as well tokujō basically because it accumulates merits (kudoku) [by avoiding killing]. It is the symbol of the holy man, the designation of the wise, and the true "banner" of the Law (dharma)."

Mention may also be made of the magical use of the khakkhara for expelling demons. This application obtains especially in Tibet, where Tantrism favors such magical agency. The sistrum as "the stick which has voice" is actually the agent which expels baneful elements: thus it plays the role of protector of the Law by warding off enemies who would

attack it. The virtues of the "stick" are also efficacious on a purely magical plane, and in Japan the *khakkhara* is one of the "Sixteen Objects" indispensable for the bonze-magician, the Yamabushi, in whose hands it has much the same exorcising power as in Tibet. Moreover, it is one of the eighteen objects which every Buddhist monk should carry. In China, the *shakujō* is used in the ceremony for the salvation of ancestors. It is carried by a monk who represents Jizō going through the Hells, forcing the demons to open the doors of cells where the damned are caught. In rites, the *shakujō* is used at prescribed intervals: it is held in the right hand close to the head, with the thumb resting on the end of the nail which secures the finial to the handle. It is usually shaken three times, followed by a continuous, trembling movement which causes the rings to give out with a sustained, sonorous jangle. This series of movements is repeated two or three times.

Among the personages who carry the *khakkhara* may be mentioned Jizō,¹⁶ whose benevolence it symbolizes; Monju,¹⁷ whose knowledge it symbolizes; Kannon (with multiple arms),¹⁸ whose compassion it symbolizes; and last of all Yakushi, who sometimes carries this attribute in his right hand, an alms bowl in his left.¹⁹

Ken¹ 劍

CH. Chien

sk. Khadga 2

THE SWORD symbolizes more than the simple protection of the Doctrine. It is the emblem of the victory that Knowledge gains over error. It symbolizes thus the enlightenment of the world through Knowledge, which assures the annihilation of all untruth, all error. The sword constitutes an arm of war, and its use in a symbolic sense as an arm against evil is perfectly clear. Moreover, it represents intelligence: the sword cuts the most complicated of knots in the same way that intellect penetrates to the very essence of the most abstruse doctrinary thought. Williams states that the sword is the emblem of knowledge and perspicacity: its goal is to sever doubts and confusion and to prepare thus for the reception of truth.

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The sword of wisdom (e-ken) is the characteristic symbol of Fudō,⁵ who carries it in his right hand (the wisdom hand), while with his left hand he holds a rope (saku): ⁶ by means of these two weapons, he ties and kills Evil, which appears sometimes in the form of demons menacing the Buddhist Doctrine. From the sword are said to spring nine penetrating flames, which characterize this attribute as an arm of Fudō. The e-ken, the sword of wisdom, is also called the chi no ken, "Knowledge sword," or the gōma no ken, "demon-suppressing sword," and the rope (saku) is also called the baku no nawa, "rope of bonds." The ring and the rod at the end of the rope seem to have no iconographic importance, at least from the standpoint of the Shingon sect. In place of the sword, Fudō may also carry a vajra, which indicates his adamantine determination and his force in destroying the illusions and the hindrances of the Nine

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Realms.⁸ Often the pommel of his sword is in the form of a vajra, bringing together thus the symbolism of the hardness of the vajra and the protection represented by the sword.

<u>[</u>50

[63

There are other carriers of the sword: notably Monju, who holds the sword of Knowledge (ri ken), which destroys ignorance. As a symbol of Monju, the sword is erect 9 on a lotus flower—a double symbol which represents the vow of the divinity to destroy evil. Kokūzō Bosatsu holds the sword in his right hand, the pommel reposing on his right thigh; in his left hand he carries a jewel. 10 It is also used figuratively for Amida and signifies this divinity's wisdom and discrimination.

17 Vajra

Kongō-sho¹ 全剛杵

CH. Chin-kang-ch'u

SK. Vajra²

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It is determine with precision the origins of the vajra. Among the explanations advanced by certain iconographers, are, on one hand, the theory which postulates an Occidental origin, namely, that the vajra derives from the lightning bolt of Jupiter,³ and, on the other hand, the theory which traces the origins to some ancient solar symbol.⁴ Under any circumstance, the vajra, as an emblem, is found in several religious systems. Ancient Near Eastern divinities, for example, hold the pointed trident, which represents lightning,⁵ while divinities in the same area ⁶ and at Elūrā, as well as Šiva in India, carry the double trident (cf. viśvavajra ⁷). In the Rg-Veda, as in the Pāli canon, the lightning bolt (vajra) figures already as a weapon of the Hindu divinity Indra. Indeed, a legend tells of the Buddha who was supposed to have taken the lightning symbol from Indra in order to make of it a Buddhist emblem by bringing together the points of the rays.⁸ Indra, as god of thunder and

102 Single and double tridents from the Ancient Near East



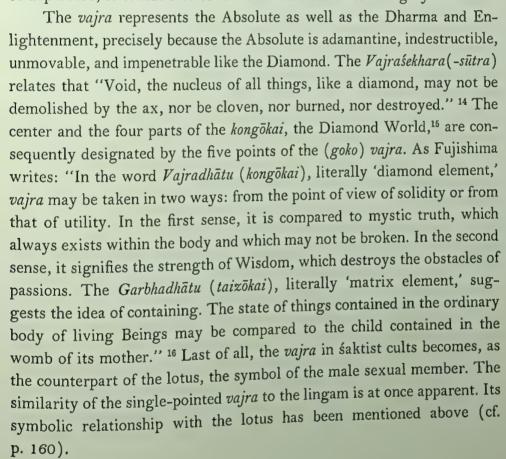






lightning,9 holds a scepter-vajra, the weapon by which he puts the enemies of Buddhism to death: 10 hence the vajra also symbolizes the victorious power of the Law.

Esoteric Buddhism, notably the Shingon sect, lends to the vajra a diversified symbolism and endows it with various powers. It is first of all the emblem of hardness: like the diamond 11 (kongō-seki), it symbolizes the Law, which, similar to the diamond, is unshakable, indestructible, eternal.12 It is also compared with the mystic Truth that may not be destroyed and with Knowledge which suppresses all the passions that bind Beings to 103 Early Indian Vajra this world. By extension, it symbolizes victorious power of Knowledge over illusion and evil influences; and, with this notion of power as a point of departure, it stands last of all as an emblem of sovereignty. 13





VAJRA

At its beginnings, the vajra may have been narrow at the lower end and divided at the upper end somewhat in the manner of a mallet or ax.17 Foucher sees in this divided shape an association with the fork formed by the human legs, and, indeed, even in the vajras of modern Esotericism, it may be noted readily that the lateral arms are actually the most important, the center one being rather a kind of axis. 18 In Gandhara, the pointed form, which may be seen at Sanci, "becomes a simple mass of arms which were grasped at the middle rather in the manner of dumb-bells." 19 In Japan, the vajra exists in several common types according to the use for which it is intended and the forces with which it is believed endowed. In Shingon practice, vajras with one, three, or five points, the $h\bar{o}$ (treasure) -sho, and the stupa vajra are most commonly used. Vajra bells are placed on the four corners of the Esoteric altar. The seven-point vajra, as well as the eight- and nine-point vajra, is exceedingly rare. An interesting example of a seven-point vajra, however, may be seen in the form of a finial on a XII-century Khmer ghantā now in the Santa Barbara Museum (California). The most common types are the following:

Toko-sho 20

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The toko-sho or single-point vajra regularly consists of a four-faced blade terminating in a point (cf. the four faces of the sword blade). Coomaraswamy has said: "The point or end of the vajra corresponds to aṇi, the point of the axle-tree that penetrates the navel of the Wheel, Dante's punto dello stello a cui la prima rota va dintorno." ²¹ In the form of an arrow, unbreakable and adamantine, this vajra serves as scepter or weapon for the celebrant who, in the ritual, wields it in order to disperse evil influences. The toko-sho is used by priests of lower rank. It symbolizes the oneness of the Universe, of the dharmadhātu, the indentity of Buddha with all things. It is then the symbolic centeraxis of the cosmos, and symbolizes the Buddhist Doctrine from which all things proceed and to

which everything must return. He who holds the toko-sho is the symbol of Him who is in the center, who reigns as Universal Monarch. It is used in sūtra reading and stands for the Buddha section. It is one of the forty attributes of the Thousand-armed Kannon (senju Kannon) and one of the 108 attributes of Kongozo Bosatsu. It stands as a special symbol of the Lotus section of the mandala and is placed on the western side of the altar. Its single point symbolizes the "one and only universal dharma-realm, or reality, behind all phenomena."

Niko-sho and Sanko-sho

The vajra with two points 22 (niko-sho) consists of a handle symbolizing the vertical axis of the universe. This axis binds sky and earth, which are represented by the two identical extremities, "that is, as pure being, Ding an sich, in principio, and motionless, pūrana apravartin, acala, abhedya." 23

The term vajra used alone in Japanese Esotericism usually designates the three-pointed vajra (sanko-sho). Among the five sections of the mandala, the three-pronged vajra stands for the karma section and is placed in the North. Among the Buddha, Lotus, and Diamond sections, it stands for the Lotus section. If, at the time of consecration (kaji), no vajra is available, the so-called sanko-in or three-pointed mudrā may be made to replace it. This gesture is formed by placing the two erect middle fingers together, while the two indexes stand separate, thus forming three points. Specifically the three-pointed vajra stands for the Three Mysteries. The fact that the points are all attached to a single handle emphasizes the unity and oneness of the Three Mysteries. It is commonly used for ritual consecrations (kaji).

The attribute formed by crossing two vajra is called katsuma kongō (Sk. karmavajra) or jūji kongō, "crossed vajra." The katsuma kongō is regularly placed at the four corners of the Great Altar. The three prongs

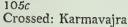


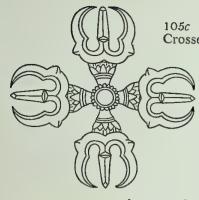
Two-pronged: Niko-sho

[54, 72, XIXB



Three-pronged: Sanko-sho

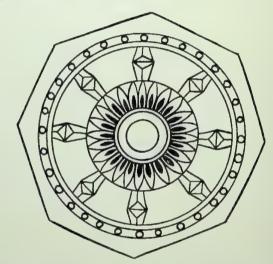




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stand for the Three Mysteries (act, word, thought) and are popularly thought to represent lifted hands. The crossing of the vajras signifies that the Three Mysteries apply to the four directions equally. The katsuma kongō is the convention body (sammaya-shin) of Shaka or Fukūjōju in

the north. Placing this symbol in the four corners of the altar stands for the perfect understanding of the works of the Four Knowledges. It also designates inner assurance $(jish\bar{o})$ and the saving of others. It corresponds to the wheel $(rimb\bar{o})$ and represents the initial creative work of



104 Eight-spoked wheel (Hōrin)



105d Four-pronged: Shiko-sho

the "exemplary principle"; it is closely related in form and in symbolism to the wheel. "Hence we find the spokes of the World-wheel not infrequently and quite naturally represented as vajras, extending from center to felly." ²⁴ In the wheel whose eight spokes are formed by eight vajra, the eight points of contact at the felly represent eight earth points, while the eight heaven points meet and are fused in a common center. ²⁵

Shiko-sho

In this vajra (shiko-sho) ²⁶ the four prongs of the attribute are closed in such a way as to resemble the form of an unopened lotus bud. ²⁷ The four-pointed vajra ²⁸ may stand for various groups of four: the Four Periods—the Buddha's earthly life, the periods of correct law, the sem-

blance of the law, the decadence of the law; the Four Abodes - goodness of heart, joy, samādhi of the immaterial realm, samādhi of the infinite; the Four Buddhas; the Four Powers for attaining Enlightenment-personal power, power from others, power from past acts, power from milieu; the Four Attachments - desire, false views, false morals, ideas stemming from the concept of self; and so on. The shiko-sho may also symbolize the Five Elements. In this case, the axis or handle of the vajra constitutes a fifth prong, which represents the fifth element.

Goko-sho

The five-pointed vajra, the most common form, differs in Japan from the Tibetan vajra 29 of the same form. In Tibet, four prongs often surround an inner core, while in Japan five prongs are generally exterior. The points represent various series of five: the Five Elements - earth, fire, water, air, void; the Five Buddhas-Dainichi (Vairocana), Hōshō (Ratnasambhava), Muryoju (Amitābha), Fukujoju (Amoghasiddhi), Ashuku (Aksobhya); the Five Powers which destroy obstacles-faith, which destroys doubt, zeal, which destroys remissness, memory, which destroys error, concentration, which destroys wandering thoughts, wisdom, which destroys illusion; and so on. (For other groups of five, the reader may refer to Soothill and Hodus, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, pp. 113-31.) This vajra is reserved for priests of the highest rank.

The vajra is a symbol of wisdom. The five points represent the Five Knowledges which symbolize the duality-non-duality,30 the essence of the indivisible Buddha. The middle point stands for Buddha knowledge of the Absolute, while the outer four represent Buddha knowledge of the phenomenal. The middle point also represents Means (hoben). The fact that the outer four branches surround and encompass it indicates that the phenomenal must take refuge in the Absolute. The fact that both ends of the vajra are the same signifies that the Buddha World and the World of Beings possess in common the Five Knowledges and that there is no difference between them. The five-pointed vajra stands for the $kong\bar{o}$ section



Five-pronged: Goko-sho

of mandala; it combines in one form the two types (kongōkai and taizōkai) of the Five Knowledges. The five terminal points fusing into the handle are actually united, although they are at the same time divided into five prongs: duality-non-duality. The points represent thus the Buddha and the elements associated with the Knowledges.31 The middle prong stands for Dainichi and the hokkaitaisho-chi, and the other four stand for the other four Knowledges and the remaining Buddhas. The four bands of eight leaves mean the Four Perfections, the Sixteen Bodhisattvas, the Eight Offerings, and the Four Acceptances of the thirty-seven divinities. The four jewels stand for the four Buddhas and the one in the middle for Dainichi. The bands which bind the eight leaves and thus divide them into two sections signify the greatness of the knowledge and wisdom worlds. The ten points stand for the Ten Perceptions. In Esotericism the vajra also symbolizes "the unity as well as the duality between material elements and Knowledge, the distribution of the manifestations of the Absolute among body, discourse, and thought. . . . "32 Also to be noted is the value of this symbol as a weapon of defense and destruction; as such it removes guilty desires and clarifies knowledge of the supreme divinity.33 This Knowledge prepares the hearer for Enlightenment: whence the expression jobodaishin, "pure heart of bodhi," the first stage of the Shingon believer.34 The vajra represents thus the strength of Buddhist Doctrine, which crushes all untruth and all vice: 35 when used by the Guardian Kings, who employ it in annihilating the passions, this vajra symbolizes vigor, determination, and perfection. In the mandala it stands for the Diamond section.



10*5f* Nine-pronged: Kuko-sho

Kuko-sho 36

The symbolism of the nine-pointed vajra is not entirely clear. Legend attributes its use to Mahātejas,³⁷ guardian king of Buddhism, whose terrifying power gives him strength to protect the good and annihilate the evil. Nevertheless, Japanese texts do not mention this king, Mahā-

tejas, and the use of the nine-pointed vajra is more frequent in Tibet than in Japan. The Shingon sect, at least according to the information received by the present writer on Mount Kōya, does not utilize this form.³⁸ The nine-pointed vajra may stand for various groups of nine: the Nine Stages of Mental Concentration ³⁹ during ecstatic contemplation; the Nine Realms ⁴⁰—desire, the four material realms, the four formless realms; the Nine Honorable Ones—Vairocana, the four Buddhas, and the four Bodhisattvas; the Nine Realities,⁴¹ conditions in which Sentient Beings like to reside; the Nine Bonds that bind men to mortality—love, hate, pride, ignorance, (wrong) views, grasping, doubt, envy, selfishness; the Nine Truths—impermanence, suffering, void, no permanent ego, love of existence, the opposite of this, ceasing of suffering, nirvāṇa, parinirvāṇa; the Nine Kinds of Cognition—sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste, mind, mental perception, bodhi-consciousness, Buddha-consciousness; and so on. It is specifically used in worshiping Dai Itoku Myō-ō.

25

The vajra is carried by several divinities, of which the most important is doubtless Vajrapāņi (Kongōshu or Shukongō),42 "he who holds the vajra in his hand." In India, Vajrasattva, the "sixth" of the five dhyāni-Buddhas, is accepted as the "priest" of the other five. As such, he is represented holding the attributes characteristic of an official celebrant, that is, the vajra and the ghanțā. 43 In Japan, the vajra is sometimes held in the hand, sometimes posed erect on the palm. It often figures in statues of the Guardian Kings 44 and of holy men: 45 in representations of the first, it stands for strength and power against evil; in statues of the second, vigor and determination. It may be noted that in Esoteric pictures of Kōbō Daishi, the kongō which he holds in his right hand stands for Aizen Myō-ō, the god protector of the faithful, and for the Diamond World. The rosary which he holds in his left hand stands for Fudō Myō-ō and for the Matrix World. Sometimes, although less frequently, the vajra is held by a Buddha or a Bodhisattva: Ashuku, Amida, Fukūjōju, or Kaifuke-ō.46

T79

18 Vase 1

Byō 瓶

CH. P'ing

SK. Kalaśa²

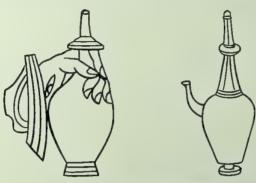


THE VASE is one of the most ancient symbols of Buddhism. Its use as A a receptacle in everyday life predestined this attribute to the double role it was to assume in Buddhist iconography: utilitary vessel 3 and mystic symbol. Gijō (I-ching) describes it thus: "The cover should be joined in one piece to the opening (of the actual body of the pot, and this cover should be) surmounted with a pointed top, about two finger (thicknesses) high (Sk. angula); at the top (of this point) is pierced a little hole, the size of a copper chopstick, and it is through (this aperture) that one may drink the water. On the side (of the belly of the jar) is opened another aperture, round, covered (with a spout) which rises vertically, about two finger (thicknesses) thick; the opening (of this spout is about the size) of a 'sapeke,' and it is through this opening that the water should be added (in order to fill up the jar). The capacity of the jar should be of two- or three-tenths of a bushel; a smaller jar would be useless. The two holes (the smaller upper aperture by which one drinks, and the larger lateral aperture used for filling the jar) may be closed by corks of bamboo or wood, or they may be wrapt in cloth or leaves, lest insects or dust penetrate (into the jar). . . . "4

The symbolism of this attribute is based on its use as a utilitarian receptacle. In the same way that a vase is useful by containing the liquid for which it is intended, Sentient Beings should strive to become a receptacle of the Truth.⁵ The faithful worshiper, by making his heart empty like the interior of a vase, is capable of receiving and of containing the Truth of the Doctrine. But the emptiness or void which constitutes the

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principle of the vase is an active and useful emptiness; for if this void within the belly of the vase did not exist the vase as such would cease to be and its usefulness would be unfulfilled. Like the vase, therefore, the emptiness of the faithful's heart should be a positive and active emptiness. As Glasenapp observes: "The comparison of the jar, in its fragile and impermanent form which is an illusion for our senses, but which has no



107 Two examples of Kundika

substantial reality, with Self, the simple aggregate of masses, is common in Buddhist literature . . .; or again, the jar serves to illustrate conventional reality (Sk. saṃvṛti-sat), as opposed to ultimate reality (paramārtha-sat)." 6

The vase is intended to contain the water (or the nectar) of life: as such, it constitutes a characteristic attribute of Kannon and holds in this instance the nectar of her compassion. The Rokujūkegonkyō mentions a tendoku-no-kame, a divine vase from which issue the desires of the heart,7 for "the Enlightened (bodhi) heart is actually the tendokubyō, which grants the desires of all Beings." 8 The vase sometimes replaces the lotus, with which it is naturally associated. Sometimes it is present as a sign on the foot of the Buddha, and in this case it symbolizes the state of supreme intelligence (cf. Jar of Wisdom: consult n.2) which triumphs over death and rebirth.9

This attribute is accorded a very important use in the Esoteric cult.¹⁰ Here it is a question of large, bellied jars with big apertures. Five precious vases, representing the *gochi nyorai*, ¹¹ that is, the Five *dhyāni*-Buddhas, ¹²

[XIXA, XXIII

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are placed at the cardinal points of the altar. Flowers ¹³ are put in the vases which were previously filled with a mixture of the Five Grains (koku), the Five Medicines (yaku), the Twenty-four Kinds of Things, ¹⁴ and last of all perfumed water $(k\bar{o})$. ¹⁵ Previous to Buddhism there is textual evidence that similar vases were used in the ceremony of royal investiture. They were filled with the waters of the Four Great Oceans, and these waters, symbolizing the extent of the royal terrain, were used in anointing the new sovereign (cf. $kanj\bar{o}-in$).



108 Kobyō or Bird's-head vase

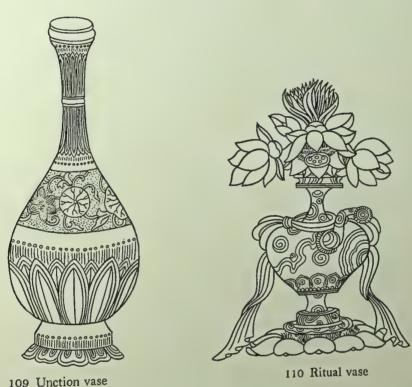
89, 90]

Several divinities bear the vase as an attribute. Kannon, with two or more arms, ¹⁶ is the Bodhisattva with whom the vase is perhaps most frequently associated; it is, moreover, her most ancient attribute. ¹⁷ In India, as in Japan, the vase of Kannon (kuṇḍikā) is a more or less rounded receptacle, rarely pear-shaped, prolonged by a spout, frequently ending in a point and sometimes provided with a base. ¹⁸ The vase is sometimes surmounted by a bird's head; in this case, it is called kobyō. ¹⁹ The Bodhisattva holds the vase by the neck, most often in the left hand, ²⁰ but frequently also it reposes on a lotus flower whose stem Kannon holds in her right hand. In China and in Japan, the vase of Kannon may be held in the hands of the divinity or it may be placed beside her. This arrangement was already extant in India. If this attribute is held or placed at her side, the divinity may carry a lotus or, after the VI century in China and consequently as early as the Suiko period in Japan, a willow branch, ²¹ with which she sprinkles the nectar of life that the vase is supposed to contain. ²²

When it is a question of the thousand-armed (senju) Kannon, the vase, according to the Esoteric interpretation, is symbolic of Brahmā: "it figures in conformity to the disciplinary prescriptions relative to the water jar with or without the lateral spout." ²³ Kannon often holds a vase (kebyō) in which stands a lotus bud. These two attributes appearing together symbolize the two worlds, the material (taizōkai) and the spiritual (kongōkai), and the unity which exists between them.

The vase is also associated with Miroku. For this divinity it constitutes a symbol subsidiary to the wheel, and represents the Convention Body (sammaya-shin).²⁴ It is most often supported by a lotus flower at

the level of the left shoulder of the divinity; it is more rarely carried in the hand. In the case of Miroku, the vase (amṛta-kalaśa) contains the nectar of immortality. It is possible, however, that even in India, this nectar vase, "emblem of royal divinities such as Indra and Maitreya, may not have been, in ancient times, differentiated from the water vase (kamandalu)." ²⁵ At a later date, in Pāla-Sena art, Maitreya carries the kamandalu, but this manifestation is very late.



The vase is also an attribute of the god Brahmā, who holds it in his left hand. The divinity is said to have used it, when he created the Receptacle world, to fill (this receptacle) with all things. Sometimes Amida carries the nectar vase (amṛta-kalaśa), which has become, in this instance, a covered vessel, in which is found a so-called Aśoka branch. Between the vase and the cover slip strands of beads, which fall in garlands around the vase. The beads represent sacred cachets used in the ceremony of longevity.



NOTES



NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS and REFERENCES are explained in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PRELIMINARY

1 The character in P has been successively translated by "seal" (the traditional Japanese rendition), "sign," "gesture," "ritual" or "symbolic gesture." None of these translations can claim to exhaust the meaning of the ideograph. The Sk. term mudrā is general, while the Japanese word in, in the sense of "seal," "sign," or "symbolic gesture" refers chiefly to rites. Both, however, are used in connection with iconography. It has been decided in the following text to use the term "mudra," treated in roman type, as if English. However, when syntactical necessity has dictated the use of "gesture" or "symbolic gesture," these terms have always been within the meaning of "mudra."

Toki, Si-do-in-dzou, subtitled "gestures of the officiating priest in the mystic ceremonies of the Tendai and Shingon sects." The Si-do-in-dzou gives a design of each mudrā as it appears in the ceremonies, the name in Chinese characters, and the Sino-Japanese phonetic transcription. Beside each design is a short paragraph identifying the mudra, more or less superficially, with respect to its use in the cult.

3 Mahāmanivipulavimānavisvasupratistitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparājadhāranī 1007, XIX, 661a-63a; N. 536; anon. tr. ca. 502-557). [See Bibliography for T. and N.]

4 Toganoo, MK, p. 483, li. 15: "Probably the first sutra explaining the mudra, the Murimandarajukyō gives only sixteen gestures. One century later, according to the Daranijikkyō (T. 901, XVIII, 785ff.), translated by Atigupta [?] in the VII century, the mudrā have increased to more than three hundred."

The Jayākhyasamhitā (IC, p. 569, § 1169) enumerates fifty mudrā. The Jayākhyasamhitā (cf. Renou, LS, p. 53a) is "one of the principal and one of the oldest Vișnuite samhitā . . . containing important elaborations on practices." It dates perhaps from the V century. Mention of other mudrā is found in the Daksināmūrtisamhitā, the Rāmapūjāsarani, the Nāradapāñcarātra.

Bhattacharyya, in the introduction of Two Vajrayāna Works, places among the first Tantric works which contain numerous examples of mudra, mandala, and mantra (1) the Manjusrīmūlakalpa (T. 1191, XX, 835ff.) and (2) the Guhyasamāja (T. 885, XVIII, 469ff.). The first, dating probably from the II (?) century A.D., and the second, from the III (?)

century, presuppose a considerable earlier literature.

5 Toganoo, MK, p. 483. More than 300 mudrā are found in the Daranijikkyō (T. 901, XVIII, 785ff.; Dhāraṇīsamuccaya [?]), dating from the VII century and attributed to Asanga. It was translated by Ajikuta (Sk. Atigupta [?] or Atikūţa [?]; in Jap., Mugokukõ; BD 23a) and includes not only the shu-in (i.e., "hand gestures") but also the names of symbolic objects. Neither the Daranijikkyō (BD 1182c) nor the Murimandarajukyō figures in the list of sūtras used in the VII and VIII centuries in Japan (cf. de Visser, ABJ, pp. 3-5).

NOTES: PRELIMINARY/DEFINITION OF TERMS

Cf. Dainichikyō, ch. 9 (R. Tajima, p. 121): when the Shingon officiating priest performs a consecration (kaji) by means of the mystic mudrā of the Tathāgata, he assimilates himself with the dharmadhātu body of the Buddha. This chapter enumerates the 31 mudrā and mantra of the Tathāgata and the 57 mudrā and mantra of all the divinities beginning with the Bodhisattva Maitreya, as well as the 45 mudrā belonging to the other divinities. Cf. also R. Tajima, ch. 14, "Les huit mudrās ésotériques."

6 Buhot, Les Arts de l'Extrême-Orient, p. 35, distinguishes six mudrā: bhūmisparša, dharmacakra, vitarka, dhyūna, abhaya, vara. Mallmann, Intro., p. 262, distinguishes five: abhaya, vara, añjali, dharmacakra, tarjanī (for Avalokitešvara). Sirén, p. 134, distinguishes seven mudrā: dhyūna, varada, abhaya, vitarka, dharmacakra, bhūmisparša, añjali. Takata, Indo nankai no bukkyō bijutsu, pp. 46-47, gives five: sokuchi-in, tembōrin-in, jō-in (yuga sen-in), semui-in, segan-in, of which the last three are the most common in India. These five are said to form the basic mudrā of Esoteric Buddhism. In Esotericism they become the characteristic gestures of the Five Buddhas of the kongōkai—with the addition of the chi ken-in (bodhiśrīmudrā) characteristic of Dainichi. Bose, Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra, p. 59, enumerates 25 "sorts" of mudrā.

Of the repetition of the mudrā, Steinilber-Oberlin (*The Buddhist Sects of Japan*, p. 117) says: "a seal may vary in signification according to the circumstances in which one forms it . . . because the sense of a seal varies according to the words which are pronounced by the officiating priest and the meditation to which he abandons himself."

7 Specialized works dealing with mudrā:

- I Gonda and Ōmura, Butsuzō shinshū. Two volumes (text and plates), giving a choice of passages from sūtras concerning the specifications of statues, attributes, and mudrā.
- 2 Gonda, Shingon mikkyō hōgu benran. One volume of text and one of plates, devoted to explaining particularly the paraphernalia of Shingon ceremonies.
- 3 Toki, Si-do-in-dzou. The French translation of a Japanese text, consisting of notes on ritual gestures used in Shingon and Tendai ceremonies.
- 4 Daizōkyō zuzō, VIII. This volume includes some fourteen separate works in which mudrā are illustrated. Particularly useful for the identification of mudrā in general and especially of uncommon mudrā.
- The Asabashō, comp. by Shōchō (1205-82), a contemporary of Nichiren (1222-82), appears in the collection Dainihon bukkyō zensho. It concerns the ceremonies and the traditions of the Tendai sect. The author was the abbot of the Miidera. The Asabashō was subsequently reproduced a number of times. The copy at the Musée Guimet, which was originally consulted for this study, is by the hands of several copyists, the last of them the priest Teido, who began his work in March 1811 and finished it in 1812. This text includes 102 volumes (originally 228). The manual, though providing few figures, and these poorly executed and often indistinct, has the advantage of furnishing texts relating to the making of statues. The Dainihon bukkyō zensho edition is much clearer.
- 6 Jikkanshō, also called the Sonyōshō. In 10 vols., by the monk Eju, of the Kamakura period. The Musée Guimet possesses a reproduction in collotype by the Dainihon bukkyō zensho kankōkai. The text may now be in the possession of the Jōraku-in, Kyoto. This volume, as well as that of Gonda and Ōmura (No. 1, above), gives a great number of images.

7 Akiyama, Buddhist Hand-Symbol. This small volume gives illustrations of the principal gestures. Short explanations are provided.

- 8 Kakuzenshō, 7 volumes, in Dainihon bukkyō zensho, Vols. 45-51.
- 9 Shoson zuzösho, 11 volumes. This work is cited by Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, p. 347. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to consult it.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

- 1 "Mudrā, Muddā," p. 280.
- 2 Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 1, p. 14.
- 3 Sk. udāna, furthermore, is translated "grips." Woodward, in The Book of Kindred Sayings, part IV, p. 267, n. 1, records muddika as "faultless reckoner," "one skilled in interpreting finger-signs," and "reader of symbolic gestures." BD 108b supports this rendition by citing the Daijogisho 2 (T. 1851, XLIV, 507b, li. 22-24), which in turn reports that udana means in, that is, "mudra." According to Soothill (p. 456a), in corresponds to Sk. uddana, which he translates "fasten, bind, seal." Cf. udana in Eitel, p. 183; and in Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 188a.
 - 4 See n. 2 in preceding section.
 - 5 A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, s.v. yin, p. 203a-b.
 - 6 The Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 171.
 - 7 Eitel, p. 101.
- 8 Mudrā are utilized to a certain extent by other sects than Shingon, e.g., Tendai, Sōtō Zen, Jōdo, Shin. It is the Esoteric sects, however, which accord the most importance to gestures.
 - 9 "Mudrā = Schrift (oder Lesekunst)?" pp. 731-34.
- 10 South Indian Bronzes. For this author, mudra seems to be the position of the fingers, and hasta the movement or position of the arm. Auboyer ("Moudra," p. 158b, n. 10) states: "The distinction between mudrā and hasta appears to be relatively modern. It is, however, accepted. Mudrā regularly designates ritual gestures and gestures appearing in Buddhist and Tantric iconography. Hasta is used rather in the domain of aesthetics and of Hindu religions."
 - 11 A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, p. 410.
- 12 This information on the etymology of the word mudra has been taken from the article by Przyluski, "Mudrā."
- 13 F. Hommel, "Pali $mudd\bar{a} = babylonisch musar\bar{u}$ und die Herkunft der indischen Schrift." One may note the existence in Hindi of mudrā and of mundrā; in Khas, the seal is called munro; in Sindhi, mundri. The nasalization must be very old (Przyluski).
- O. Franke notes (p. 733): "Only after a possible future proof of my hypothesis will it perhaps be time to consider whether the word mudra indicates Egypt; compare the Old Persian mudrāya and the Hebrew misraim for Egypt. Weber, in his monograph 'Die Griechen in Indien' (p. 5 of the separatum) has already indicated, for the meaning of 'seal,' a possible relationship with mudrāya.
- ". . . one should further suppose that in Sanskrit, because of the non-use of writing, the meaning of the word was restricted to 'seal' and the meaning 'writing' was perhaps completely lost."
 - 14 This hypothesis is rejected by Lüders: "Die Säkischen Müra," p. 742, n. 3.
- 15 Cf. Renou, Dict. p. 571a. Bhattacharyya (An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, p. 152, n. 2) adds: ". . . an appetiser (for more drink), and the woman (as in mahāmudrā)...."
 - Cf. also L. Finot, "Manuscrits sanskrits de Sâdhana's retrouvés in Chine," p. 17.
- 16 That is to say, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Kanarese (Przyluski, "Mudra," p. 715). Note Persian muhr, "seal," hence "gold coin," and Khotanese mūra, "coin," deriving from

an old form, $mudr\bar{a}$, "seal." In Sk., mudrā as "coin" occurs in the commentary of Hemacandra (1089-1172) 3, 81, by Mahendra (ibid.).

17 Przyluski, "Mudrā," p. 715.

The notion of finger-pose is not always used in a religious sense. In Pāli, for example, mudrā becomes the art of calculating with the help of the fingers. R. Franke translates, consequently, by "Finger-rechnen" (Dīghanikāya, pp. 18-19, n. 9) and Rhys Davids (tr., The Questions of King Milinda, p. 91) by "the art of calculating by using the joints of the fingers as signs or marks." For a text (that of Tājňavalkyaś., 25) concerning the inutility of recitation without gestures, see Przyluski, "Mudrā," p. 717. Edgerton (II, p. 435a, s.v. "mudrā") calls mudrā the "art of calculation," "hand-calculation," "always in the list of arts learned by a young man, and associated with mathematical terms."

18 Przyluski, "Mudrā," p. 716: "Going back to the Vedic times, however, one finds the word and the gesture on one plane, and being given the same magical or religious importance. The Vāj. Prāt., I, 124, notifies that the accents were indicated by moving the hands upwards, downwards, or laterally. Later texts mention gestures which marked the accents and explained the sense also."

"Grammatical" gestures are referred to in the Pāṇinīya-śikṣā, pars. 52-55. Here hasta is used to mean this kind of gesture, and the text speaks of reciting "with and without a show of hands."

- 19 Ibid., p. 719: "At DhA., II 4, muddikā (from muddā) is used with the meaning of authority."
 - 20 Cf. Auboyer, "Moudrā," p. 153b.
- Przyluski, p. 717: "Mudrā—or more usually mahāmudrā—has in the Tantras, besides the ordinary sense, that of 'woman,' when a woman is associated to the rites. For instance, in the Abhiṣeka, the master and disciple both have their mudrā; and, however discrete the expression may voluntarily be, the context does not leave any doubt upon the part which these assistants play. Vajravārāhī is given the name of Mahāmudrā, in the quality of Heruka's first wife (Agramahiṣī). (V.S., Mūlamantra, pl. 61—according to Finot ["MSS. sanskrits"], p. 17)." Zimmer (Philosophies of India, p. 591, citing Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, pp. 569-70) notes mudrā with the meaning of "parched grain."
- 22 Auboyer, p. 153. Also seal, (seal-)ring, passport, sign, image, lock, the closing of the eyes or of books.
- 23 Cf. BD 1590b-c for the first two groups of meanings. In, more precise and delimiting, necessarily excluded the meaning of sakti.
 - 24 Cf. Glasenapp, MB, pp. 152ff. In Tantric texts mudrā is used for śakti.
- 25 Kei-in is used especially by the Shingon sect; $s\bar{o}$ -in by the Tendai. But according to the Mikkyō daijiten (I, 105b), kei-in is also called $s\bar{o}$ -in, which supposedly is to represent a specific form (either the sword, the wheel, the lotus, etc.) held in the hand of the divinity: this distinguishing symbol is what is known as the sammayagyō, Convention Form. Consult Soothill, p. 67a for an explanation of sammaya. Mochizuki, BD (1954), 176f., treats kei-in as a generic term for the Sk. mudrā.

Shu-in, according to some authorities, signifies the symbolic gestures formed by joining the two hands (cf. chi ken-in, mida jō-in, etc.) in contrast to those gestures which are formed with one hand alone (cf. semui-in, segan-in, etc.). In all these compounds, the vocable in represents the notion of sign, of seal in the Esoteric sense and in the ritual sense, or that of sealing the magic of the words, of insuring the efficacy of the formulas of the rite. It is in this sense that seal may be explained as capable of demolishing all error and guaranteeing the authenticity of the words.

Gale, in Korean Folk Tales, p. 164, writes: "Yee answered, 'Hungry, are you? Very

well, now just move back and I'll have food prepared for you in abundance.' He then repeated a magic formula that he had learned, and snapped his fingers. The three devils seemed to be afraid of this. . . ."

Kei (pact) in kei-in means the contract made between the believer and the divinity. Mitsu (mystery; Sk. guhya), in mitsu-in, signifies the Esoteric virtue of the mudrā. Sō (to help; appearance) in sō-in would seem to indicate the power to help, or more still, the fact that the in, "appearing" as a symbol, represents the words pronounced by the faithful.

The in which express the deeds and the works of the historical Buddha are called komma-in, Deed Seals. The translation given by the Ho. is "sceaux d'acte."

26 Soothill, pp. 157b and 193b.

26a Liebenthal, "Chinese Buddhism during the 4th and 5th Centuries," p. 54.

27 The importance of the seal is universally manifest as much in early times as in the present day; stamping and impressing any document confer upon it its legal quality. There is the story of the impatient Caligula who went to Capri to seize with his own hands the imperial seals from the dying Tiberius. Buddhism gives us the story of Prince Kunāla, whose beautiful eyes inspired in his mother-in-law, the queen, a most incestuous love. Lost in contemplation, he paid no attention to her advances. The queen then, taking advantage of the absence of the king, seized the royal seals and ordained that the eyes of the unhappy prince be gouged out.

Cf. the drama in 7 acts (V or VII-IX centuries), Mudrārākşasa, "Rākşasa and the Seal" (by Višākhadatta), which tells of the rivalry of the Nanda and the Candragupta, respectively advised by the ministers Rākṣasa and Cāṇakya. A ring bearing the seal of

Rākṣasa falls into the hands of an enemy, who uses it against him.

The magico-religious quality of the gesture is brought out by the story of Ryūkai, a priest of the Hosso sect at the Gango-ji (temple), who died while making the muryojunyorai-in (mudrā of the Tathāgata Amida) with his right hand: when his body had been burned there remained only the mudra (de Visser, ABJ, p. 340).

Cf. Reischauer, Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, pp. 236 ff. Liebenthal, "Chinese Buddhism during the 4th and 5th Centuries," p. 54: "Prestige is in China more important than in other countries. There it is called 'face.' Originally it meant the possession of emblems and rites which bestow magical power on the owner. The emperor had 'face,' and his deputies shared his 'face' because they were authorized to carry his emblem and seal." Also, for mudrā in China, cf. Lloyd, The Creed of Half Japan, pp. 122ff. In Japan there is the story of Emi no Oshikatsu (Fujiwara no Nakamaro) who stole the imperial seal for the issue of commissions to raise troops against Dokyo: cf. Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, p. 226.

Toganoo, MK, p. 470; in the Zōagongyō, 25 (T. 99, II, 181b, li. 3-4) one reads: "Then the king, having heard these words . . . , wrote them all on paper. He closed it and affixed his seal, which was the imprint of his teeth." This idea of authenticity, as concerns the Law, is brought out in the Zōagongyō, 10 (T. 99, II, 64b ff.), the Dainehangyō, 12 (T. 374, XII, 433 ff.), and the Daibibashanaron, 126 (T. 1545, XXVII) etc. -all noted in Toganoo, MK, p. 471.

29 Ibid., p. 471. Toganoo affirms that in the mudra called ho-in zammai, nyū-in zammai, sõji-in zammai, etc., mentioned among the 108 sammai (composing of the mind) of the Daihannyakyō, 41 (T. 220, V, 227c ff.), in expresses veracity and the lack of vain

words and of error: in here takes the meaning of "seal." Cf. sambō-in, mudrā of the Three Dharma, which guarantees that there will never be any error in perfecting the essence of Buddhist doctrine. Soothill (p. 61b) adds that the sambō-in (or the san-in) signifies the three signs or "proofs" of a Hinayānist sūtra: nonpermanence, non-personality, nirvāņa.

NOTES: DEFINITION OF TERMS/FIRST REPRESENTATIONS

Toganoo mentions the butsu-in, which represents the virtues of the Buddha and has the qualities necessary to assure "rectitude" (avoidance of error). According to the Daichidoron, 47 (T. 1509, XXV, 396b ff.), this mudrā means: (1) not coveting; (2) not desiring; (3) freedom from adherence [to error].

- 30 According to BD 90c, li. 16-17. Cf. Hizōki (BD 727c, li. 8).
- Si-do-in-dzou, p. 5: "The word 'in' (seal) is understood as having the sense of 'sign of a firm resolution' just as one seals a solemn contract with a cachet."
 - 32 Auboyer, "Moudrā," p. 156b.
 - 33 Ibid., p. 156a.
- 34 As in such sūtras as the Kongōchōkyō (T. 865, XVIII, 207a ff.), noted in Toganoo, MK, p. 473.
- 35 This is according to Atigupta, who translated the Daranijikkyō in the VIII century (Toganoo, MK, p. 472).

Toganoo (MK, p. 475) notes that -according to the Kambutsusammaikyō (T. 643, XV, 645c ff.) - as time passed, more and more emphasis was placed on the contemplation of the image of the Buddha. This applied not only to the statues and to the images of the Buddha but also to the objects which he held in his hand and which represented his essence. The same idea is taken up in the Murimandarajukyō (T. 1007, XIX, 657c ff.).

For the term in-gei applied to these objects, cf. Daihannyakyō (T. 223, VIII, 217a ff.); Kegongyō (T. 278, XIX, 395a ff.), and also the dhāranī of the Shingon sect.

Toganoo, MK, p. 473, would see the in divided into three classes according to the gradually expanding meaning of the term: (1) hand gesture only; (2) hand gesture and attributes; (3) hand gesture, attributes, images, germ syllables (bīja), and mystic formulas (dhāranī).

- 36 Toganoo, MK, p. 472: according to the Daranijikkyō (T. 901, XVIII, 785a ff.; BD 1182c, tr. Atigupta [?], VII century A.D.).
- 37 Ibid., p. 473. In the Kongōchōkyō (T. 865; also T. 874), the meaning of in is very wide. First, in meant only shu-in, "hand gesture," but little by little, it took on the meaning of attribute and of magical formula (dhāraņī), and even of Buddha images.

ORIGINS AND FIRST REPRESENTATIONS

- 1 Toganoo, MK, pp. 473-82. Foucher, AGBG, p. 326, mentions the spontaneous nature of the gestures.
 - 2 Renou, IC, p. 570.
- 3 Buhot, Les Arts de l'Extrême-Orient, p. 352, writes that the gestures were "fixed." The expression is perhaps too strong in view of the undefined usage which characterized the first gestures in Gandhara, at Mathura, and Amaravati.

Kaneko Ryoun, in "Butsuzo no in," p. 2, believes that the iconographic mudra very likely developed from gestures used in (Esoteric) ceremonies.

- 4 Chs. 32-34.
- 6 Cf. the study on this Tibetan text by Tucci, "Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamāja."
- 6 Glasenapp, MB, pp. 99-100. "The practice of assigning to the fingers a prescribed form during the performance of holy acts goes back in India to very ancient times" (p. 97).
- After Coomaraswamy, Mirror of Gesture, p. 16. Ghosh, ed., The Natyasastra (pp. 4-5) also gives a translation of this passage.

- 8 For more detailed information, cf. Renou, LS: Veda, pp. 140-41; Rg Veda, pp. 103-4; Yajur Veda, p. 148; Sāma Veda, p. 106; Atharva Veda, p. 19. Consult also Renou, IC. pp. 270-88.
- 9 Ghosh, The Nāṭyaśāstra, p. Lxxxi: ". . . the available text of the Nāṭyaśāstra existed in the second century after Christ, while the tradition which it recorded may go back to a period as early as 100 B.C." Cf. also Ghosh, ed., and tr., Abhinayadarpanam, and Renou, LS, pp. 81b-82a. Concerning the Nātyašāstra, see also Renou, LS, pp. 81 ff.
 - 10 IC, p. 570.
 - 11 Ibid., p. 569, § 1170.

Concerning the hand and its use in Vedic recitation, see Ghosh, tr., Pāṇinīya Śikṣā, sect. 52-55, pp. 76 ff.: "If anybody reads (the Veda) without a show of hands and does not observe proper accents and places of articulation, Rk, Yajus and Sāman burn him and (on death) he attains rebirth as an inferior animal (54).

"And a person who reads the Veda with a show of hands, observes proper accent and places of articulation and knows the meaning of what he reads is purified by the Rk, Yajus and the Saman and is placed high in the realm of Brahman (55)." Here hasta is used to designate the "show of hands."

- 12 IC, p. 569.
- 13 Toganoo, MK, p. 476.
- 14 Ibid. See also IC, p. 594, § 1219, "Pañcattatva."
- 15 Auboyer, "Moudra," p. 153. The quotation from jātaka no. 546 is based on the tr. of Cowell, VI, p. 364.

Concerning the raised fist, Coomaraswamy believes that it is a question of a prototype of the more modern sikharamudrā (cf. his "Mudrā," p. 280).

- 16 Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp. 10f.; figs. 4-10.
- 17 For the interdiction of representing the body of the historical Buddha, cf. Soper, "Early Buddhist Attitudes toward the Art of Painting"; and Ho., p. 210a, s.v. Butsuzō, and its Supplément, p. III.

Coomaraswamy notes: "In Pāli texts there is no express tradition prohibiting the making of anthropomorphic images of the Tathāgata" (EBI, p. 4). In a note (4, p. 63) he speaks of an interdiction of this kind in 48 of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin.

Cf. Waley, "Did Buddha die . . . ," p. 352.

18 Soper ("Early Buddhist Attitudes," p. 148a) translates from the Jūjuritsu, (Sk. Sarvāstivādavinaya [?], N. 115, T. 1435): "The Elder then said, 'Lord of the World, since it is not permitted to make a likeness of the Buddha's body, I pray that the Buddha will grant that I make likenesses of his attendant bodhisattvas. Is that acceptable?"

Consult the translation of T. 1435 (pp. 351c-52a) in $H\bar{o}$., p. 212a, and the very im-

portant note in the Supplément au troisième fascicule, n. for p. 2122 (50).

The Komponsetsuissaiububinayazoji (Sk. Mūlasarvāstivāda, N. 1121; T. 1451, XXIV, 252a, li. 25; cf. tr. Soper, p. 148b): "The Buddha said, 'It is permissible to use scented paste and spread it where you will; but you cannot make drawings that have the form of living creatures without falling into the sin of transgression against the Law. If you draw corpses or skulls, however, there is no offense."

Yet there exist passages which justify the making of images; most particularly the Kengukyō, tr. Ekaku (according to Soper = Sk. Damamūktanidānasūtra, N. 1322, T. 202, IV, 368-69). In this text, it is a question of King Po-sai-ch'i, who causes 84,000 statues of the Buddha to be made after the model constructed by the Pusya Buddha (cf. Soothill, p. 188a). These statues were sent to the "various minor frontier lands," one for each country,

NOTES: FIRST REPRESENTATIONS/CONTRIBUTION OF TANTRISM

so that the inhabitants might insure their ultimate salvation by worshiping the Buddha, See tr. by Soper, p. 149b.

Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 6, notes that later traditions represent the Buddha himself as having instituted the use of anthropomorphic images; cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 547.

- 19 Soper, "Roman Style in Gandharan Art"; Rowland, "The Hellenistic Tradition in Northwest India"; and idem, "Gandhāra and Early Christian Art."
- 20 Cf. the illustrated text by Tagore, Some Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy: Coomaraswamy, The Transformation of Nature in Art; and Bagchi, "On the Canons of Image-making, Pingalāmata, Chap. IV." For the principles and their interpretation. consult Bose, Principle of Indian Śilpaśāstrā, pp. 16-55 (p. 27).
- 21 For the 32 great signs characteristic of a Great Man, and the numerous secondary signs, cf. Burnouf, Le Lotus de la bonne loi, p. 553f.
 - 22 Akiyama, Buddhist Hand-Symbol, Introduction; Mochizuki, BD 177.
- 23 Cf. Foucher, L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, II, p. 326; also see I, figs. 198, 210, 245 (gift); 194, 212 (homages); 251 (welcome); 255, 271-75 (subjugation): 233, 243 (predication); 220 (turning the wheel of the Law).
 - 24 Toganoo, MK, p. 474.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TANTRISM

- 1 Shingon, which derives from a branch of Tantrism, maintains that the essence of the Doctrine can be apprehended only by those initiated into the Mysteries. Hence, this type of Buddhism is called mikkyō, "mystic, or esoteric, doctrine." The Mysteries are largely transmitted orally. The traditional teachings of Śākyamuni, transmitted by and studied in the canonical literature, are accorded lesser importance in Shingon. This traditional type of Buddhism is called kengyō, "apparent doctrine."
 - 2 Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 209a.
- 3 Vajrabodhi (Kongōchi), 670-741, of Central Indian origin, embarked from Ceylon for China in 717, arriving at Canton in 719, at Loyang in 720. (Cf. Hō., fasc. annexe, p. 143a and b, s.v. Kongōchi.)
- 4 Amoghavajra (Fukū), 705-74, born in Ceylon, having accompanied Vajrabodhi to China, established himself at Ch'ang-an in 756. (Cf. Hō., fasc. annexe, p. 185a, s.v. Fukū.)
- 5 Kūkai (posth. Kōbō Daishi), born 774 in Sanuki, traveled to China from 804-6 (var. 807); resided at Kyōto as early as 809, died in 835. (Cf. Hō., fasc. annexe, p. 144a, s.v. Kūkai.)

Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, p. 337: "He [Kūkai] spent two years (804-806) in studying it [the Shingon doctrine] under Hui-kuo, the celebrated abbot of the Ch'ing-lung temple at Ch'ang-an." Cf. also Steinilber-Oberlin, The Buddhist Sects of Japan, pp. 94ff.

- 6 Hui-kuo, born 746, disciple of the Zen master Ta-chao (Daishō) and later of Fukū; traveled 776-77, died in 805. (Cf. Hō., fasc. annexe, p. 142b, s.v. Keika.)
 - 7 Hossō, Tendai, Kegon, and Shingon derive from the Yogācārya.
- 8 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 4, states that the three Mysteries essential for attaining bodhi are: (1) kan-nen, meditation on the great laws of Buddhism; (2) shin-gon, exact recitation of the mystic formulas; (3) shu-in, "hand-seal." Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme japonais, p. xxiv, gives: body, word, and thought. See Steinilber-Oberlin, Buddhist Sects, pp. 116ff. According to the BD 664b, san mitsu are: I shimmitsu, mudrā; 2 go mitsu, dhāraņī or mantra; 3 i mitsu, meditation (concentration). Also cf. Soothill, p. 63b.

In Sk. the term (Three) Mysteries is rendered by guhya, which Renou (Dict., p. 232a) explains as: "[1] a.v., qui doit être caché, secret, confidentiel, mystérieux, mystique; [2] nt. secret, mystère, organe sexuel." Kāya guhya, symbolic means of expressing a fundamental truth; vāg guhya, word, mystic formulas; mano guhya, "mental": meditative concentration.

9 Glasenapp, MB, p. 91.

10 Tantra: mystic formularies (Getty). Cf. Renou, LS, p. 127: "les textes ou portions de textes les plus anciens peuvent remonter aux VIIe ou VIIIe siècles."

Cf. Renou, IC, pp. 423-29. A tantra is composed of four parts (p. 424): 1 Jñāna, Knowledge of the divinity; 2 Yoga, Concentration; 3 Kriyā, Cult practices, making of images, construction of temples, etc.; 4 Carya, "methods" of worship.

The tantra seem to put the emphasis on the practical parts at the expense of "speculation" (cf. ibid., p. 424, § 846 for the "Five Subjects," etc.), for Tantrism aims at a sādhana, at a "practical realization" (p. 425). Concerning the age of the tantra, cf. ibid., p. 427, § 852; Glasenapp, MB, p. 20. For a general, basic study, cf. Avalon, Principles of Tantra.

11 Renou, IC, p. 428, § 856, mentions the Uddhārakoša of Daksināmūrti, as well as the "lexicons designed to translate the words or phonemes used with an esoteric value; some of them also describe the mudrā."

Bhattacharyya, An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, p. 49, mentions the Manjusrimūlakalpa'' . . . with all the paraphernalia of worship and an immense number of mudrās. mantras, and dhāranīs."

12 Glasenapp, MB, p. 20.

- 13 Concerning the origins of Tantrism in primitive magic both pre-Buddhist and Buddhist, cf. ch. I-IV of Bhattacharyya, Introduction; cf. also p. 49, li. 10-13.
 - 14 IC, p. 368, § 745.
 - 15 Ibid., p. 369.
 - 16 Ibid., p. 370, § 748.
 - 17 Ibid., p. 370, § 749.
 - 18 Ibid., p. 371, § 750.
 - 19 Ibid., p. 372, § 752.
 - 20 Ibid., p. 596, § 1223.
 - 21 Ibid., p. 598, § 1226.
 - 22 Ibid., p. 610, § 1250.
 - 23 Ibid., p. 611, § 1251.
- 24 Glasenapp, "Tantrismus und Śaktismus," p. 122: "Many Tantric rites derive from earlier times: the teaching of magic charms relating to dharani and paritta may be traced back to the Atharva Veda. The mystic sounds and syllables which the mantras and sastras teach are already found in the Yajur Veda. And also for many ceremonies it is possible to posit precursors, some already in the Veda, most in the Purāṇas and in the rich literature that came into existence in the millennium between the end of the Brahmana period and the rise of Tantrism."
- 26 Compare the interdependence which exists in Yoga practices and which is summarized in the phrase shinkuisoo (Nakagawa's reading), that is, the relationship between the hands (mudra), the mouth (mantra), and the mind (yoga) - Eitel, p. 208b.
- 27 The term shin-gon signifies the true word and emphasizes the importance of the true, the right, and, consequently, the efficacious word, which is indispensable in order to attain final identification with the divinity.

Toganoo, MK, p. 430, part 11, notes that shin-gon translates Sk. mantra, composed of

NOTES: CONTRIBUTION OF TANTRISM

man, "sacred thought," and tra, suffix meaning "to fill (like a container) with (i.e., sacred thought)."

28 The Saddharma Pundarīka, or The Lotus of the True Law, tr. H. Kern, pp. 370f. Cf. French tr. by Burnouf, pp. 378f. For the variants of the magical formulas established by this chapter, cf. Burnouf, pp. 418f., notes.

29 Cf. Getty, p. 168: dhāraṇī, "litanies." Eitel (p. 43b): mystic forms of prayer, often couched in Sanskrit.

Dhāraṇī is a feminine form of dhāraṇa. It is an agent substantive coming from the root DHR-, meaning "that which holds, keeps, preserves, protects." In the feminine, this word is a generic term for the magic formulas of the Mahāyāna. Cf. IC, § 2003.

Renou LS, p. 37b, s.v. dhāraṇī): "protective charm, used in reference to Buddhist texts, which are generally brief, and employed directly or indirectly for magical purposes." Glasenapp (p. 21) traces the translation in Chinese of these "anathema formulas" to the III century A.D., mentioning particularly Shih-ch'ien and Shrīmitra.

Toganoo, p. 429, writes that in Southern Buddhism, the dhāraṇī were called parittā, "things which protect."

30 Charme (Hō.); spells (Getty); short magic sentences—generally ending with meaningless Sanskrit syllables (Eitel, p. 96b). Renou, LS, p. 74b, s.v. mantra = "('pensée') nom générique des formules chantées . . ." Cf. IC, p. 565, § 1161.

E. Conze, Buddhism, p. 183, says: "To pronounce a mantra is a way of wooing a deity and, etymologically, the word mantra is connected with Greek words like 'meimao' which express eager desire, yearning and intensity of purpose, and with the old High German word Minn-ia, which means 'making love to.'"

31 Glasenapp, p. 95.

32 Ibid., p. 95. Cf. Hō., p. 40b.

Glasenapp notes that this formula was actually at the origin of om mani padme hūm. In the first, Aksobhya was in the vocative. In the second, which addresses the goddess Manipadmā, mani padme is the vocative form of this name, and would mean in this instance "oh, lotus jewel." Later the following meaning was given: "om, jewel (mani) in the lotus (padme—locative), hūm" (cf. Eitel, p. 11a), and this is the traditional one. Cf. Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, p. 123, n. 1. Renou, Dict., § 2338, notes that this form does not appear to be attested before A.D. 1000.

Mathews gives (p. 6, No. 31) the Chinese ideograms used to transcribe om mani padme hūm. Tibetans use the script known as lantsa for this formula (Glasenapp, p. 102). According to the Tibetan explanation, om, which is composed of a plus u plus m, symbolizes the Buddhist trinity, that is, the Buddha, his doctrine, and the community. This same aum, when there was still the great void (mahāśūnyatā), by manifesting itself was able to produce with its own volition the Adi-Buddha (Getty, p. 2). Hūm is supposed to be able to chase away demons, while the two words mani padme confirm the fact that a jewel (the Buddha or his doctrine) has appeared in (sic) the lotus (the world) (Getty). Cf. also Bousquet, Prasna Upanisad, p. 9.

Note in Japan the following examples of mantra: the six-syllable a-ba-ra-ka-ki-un, in which a = om and $un = h\bar{u}m$ (Getty, p. 172); abanrankanken (Sk. avamrankankham), one of the three formulas of Vairocana, used by the Shingon sect $(H\bar{o}., p. 5)$; arahashana $(H\bar{o}., p. 34a)$; and arorikya, formula of Tarakannon $(H\bar{o}., p. 37)$. Concerning the question of the origin of this last formula, see Tucci, "Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamāja," pp. 345ff.

33 For other relationships, cf. IC, p. 566, § 1162.

34 Cf. IC, § 1162, for other interpretations.

- 35 Ibid., p. 567, § 1164: $b\bar{i}ja$ signifies "'semen': that is, that which contains in 'seed' the corporeal form of the god or that which is the 'seed' of materialization, the deeper sense of which is given only to the initiate."
- 36 Ibid., p. 569, § 1168, "Les Nyāsa." "The use of the nyāsa recalls the ritual practice of contact, frequently attested in Brāhmaņa and Kalpasūtra literature; it is even possible that the Satapatha-Br. may note forms of touching analogous to the nyāsa (Avalon)."
- 37 On the maṇḍala: Toganoo, MK; Gonda Raifu, Mandara no tsūgi; Tucci, Teoria e pratica del mandala; J. Oda, "Shingon mikkyō no mandara shisō ni tsuite" (Concerning the concept of the Maṇḍala in Shingon Esotericism); see Renou, LS, p. 74.

Mandala:

"A magic circle geometrically subdivided into circles or squares painted with Buddhist symbols or divinities" (Getty, p. 171).

"An esoteric diagram, consisting of a series of circular or quadrangular zones surrounding a mysterious center, residence of the divinity. The one who meditates on a mandala must 'realize' through meditative effort and prayer the divinities belonging to each zone. Progress is toward the center, at which point the person meditating attains mystical union with the divinity" (Auboyer, "Moudra et hasta").

"Magic circles used in sorcery" (Eitel, p. 94a); "psycho-cosmograms" (Tucci).

One may add to these definitions: the disposition not only of symbols but also of objects, such as vases, bronze containers, or statues on an altar. Cf. the numerous dispositions in the $Jikkansh\bar{o}$ and the $Asabash\bar{o}$. For the $Ninn\bar{o}$ -mandara, see de Visser, ABJ, p. 161.

- Buddha; hence, spiritual essence, Dante's "love" as creator. Vairocana is accepted as being supreme in Shingon; Amida and the other three *Dhyāni*-Buddha being only so many manifestations of Dainichi. It must be added that for Amidist sects, Amida is the supreme Buddha; Vairocana and the other three *Dhyāni*-Buddha being, in their turn, only so many manifestations of Amitābha.
- These mandara, called in Japanese shuji mandara, are particularly esteemed in Japan. See Renou, IC, p. 567, s.v. Bīja.
- 40 Auboyer, "Moudrā," pp. 157b-158a. Auboyer refers the reader to Finot, "Manuscrits sanskrits de Sâdhana's retrouvés en Chine." N.B. The transcription of the Sanskrit words in this passage has been changed according to Finot, p. 69.
- 41 I.e., with Vairocana, in Japan. In China and in Japan Vairocana is recognized as the founder of Tantrism, for it is he who is said to have transmitted the doctrine to Vajrathe founder. Northern Tibetan Buddhism, however, does not associate Vairocana with the creation of Tantrism.
- 42 Auboyer, p. 157b. According to the BD, in-gei represents the virtue of the dharmadhātu. Tajima, Dainichikyō, ch. 9, p. 121, says that when the Shingon worshiper performs his own consecration (kaji) by means of the mystic mudrā of the Tathāgata, he is assimilated into the body of the World of Essence (hokkai).

"Great importance is attached to the practice of mantra, mudrā and mandala in the Vajrayāna, and hence a great mystic value is attached to the various manifestations of sound, which, according to these teachers, could be visualized in the forms of gods and goddesses. When these divinities appear before the mystic, they form a mandala in which they take their When these divinities appear before the mystic, they form a mandala in which they take their when these divinities appear before the mystic, they form a mandala in which they take their when these divinities appear before the mystic, they form a mandala in which they take their when these divinities appear before the mystic, they form a mandala in which they take their when these divinities appear before the mystic, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to various dispositions, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to the proper seat according to various dispositions, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to various dispositions, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to various dispositions, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to various dispositions, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to various dispositions, and the mystic, who is now speechless, carries proper seat according to various dispositions.

NOTES: CONTRIBUTION OF TANTRISM/RITES

- 43 BD 56.
- 44 Toganoo, MK, p. 472, referring to Dainichikyō (T. 848, XVIII, 33a, li. 14).
- 45 Ibid. The attributes (lotus, stūpa, etc.) represent the original vows of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. These attributes may be either objects which the divinities hold in their hands or designs made by the priest on the ground, on silk, on paper, etc. The attributes as well as the designs symbolize the understanding of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. See part IV of the present study.
 - 46 After Eitel, p. 209a-b.
- 47 For the role of the mudrā in Hindu dancing, cf. Chatterji, La Danse hindoue; and La Meri, The Gesture Language of the Hindu Dance. In an introduction to the latter, Heinrich Zimmer writes (p. xvi): "Both [hands and postures] are meant to evoke the visual presence of divine apparitions in the mind of the initiate and to transform his inner being, through suggestive auto-magic, into the essence of the godhead."
 - 48 Auboyer, "Moudrā," p. 160a.

RITES

1 Glasenapp, MB, p. 28.

- 2 See mudrā in the Paācattatva IC, p. 594, § 1219): mudrā is one of the five "m" which serve to bring the sakti, "the divine energy" close; it corresponds to the element earth. "The oldest reference [to this rite] according to B. Bhattacharyya would be that given by the tantra Guhyasamāja."
- 3 De Visser, ABJ, pp. 167ff. The Ninnō [gokokuhannyaharamittakyōdarani] nen-jugiki (T. 994, XIX, 516a-517c), explains how benevolent kings protect their countries. Tr. A.D. 402-12 by Kumārajīva (Sino-Jap. Kumarajū) and utilized in Japan as early as the VII century. See also the list of sūtras in de Visser, ABJ, pp. 3-5.
 - 4 See āsana, pp. 121ff.
 - 5 That is, the shōjō-in, which alone possesses the power of giving purity.
 - 6 Añjali (?) mudrā.
- 7 According to de Visser, ABJ, pp. 168-73. Cf. BD 94, 944-the mudrā of the jūhachidō.
- 8 Butsubu sammaya-in. These Buddhas and Bodhisattvas confer on Sentient Beings their magical powers by means of tantra and mudrā. They do this in order to make them understand the oneness of the original essence of the Buddha and Sentient Beings. These powers permit Sentient Beings to subtract themselves from the anxieties brought about by the Six Senses. The two hands are held near the heart, folded and clenched as fists, the two thumbs upright, side by side. (De Visser, p. 168).
- 9 Bosatsubu sammaya-in. Like the preceding mudrā except that the left thumb is folded into the palm. (De Visser, p. 169.)
- 10 Kongōbu sammaya-in. It is said that these saints (the Vajra), having received the majestic spirit of the Buddha, are able by means of the power of their own vow, to protect and support a country and its inhabitants and to save them from calamity and danger. It is like the preceding mudrā except that the left thumb is raised and the right thumb is folded into the palm.
- 11 Goshin-in. This is the Consecration of the Five Places (gosho kaji). With the fingers that form the mudrā one touches the forehead, the right and left shoulders, the heart, and the throat, which represent respectively Dainichi (Mahāvairocana). Hōshō (Ratna-

sambhava. Fukūjōju (Amoghasiddhi), Ashuku (Akşobhya), and Muryōju (Amitāyus)according to another version Amida and Dainichi are the first and the last. The vajra and the bell are sometimes used. They represent the mystic assistance of the Buddha whose power the worshiper has received. (De Visser, p. 170.) The mudrā is made above the head and this act symbolizes the protection of the whole body by the Adamantine Armor. The gesture causes the body to emit an unbearable brilliance that blinds demons and those who cause pain.

- 12 Byakujo-in is made above the head.
- 13 Shöshoshöshuködan-in (de Visser, p. 171).
- 14 Ken'aka kōsui-in. Aka (Sk. argha) means offering. This mudrā is made above the head and symbolizes thus that all the Buddhas and all the Bodhisattvas of the hokkai (dharmadhātu) will protect the celebrant. (De Visser, p. 171.)
- 15 Kenhōza-in. The celebrant holds his two hands in front of his heart free from passions, joins the palms, the thumbs touching the little fingers, bends them a little, and extends the rest of the six fingers. (De Visser, pp. 171f.)
- 16 Fukuyō-in. The worshiper joins the palms in such a way that the fingers are entwined, those of the left hand tightening on those of the right. He holds his hands in front of his heart.
- 17 Hannya haramita kompon-in. The two hands are joined back to back; the two indexes are united, the little fingers folded into the palm, the thumbs pressed against the ends of the other two fingers. The celebrant reads a tantra.

De Visser, pp. 172-73, says: "Prajñā-pāramitā, the Bodhisattva, is the mother of all the Buddhas. As to her image, she is sitting cross-legged upon a white lotus flower, the colour of her body is that of yellow gold; she wears a precious necklace and her whole body is grave and majestic. On her head she wears a precious crown, with white silken bands hanging down on both sides. Her left hand is held near her heart and carries a 'Hannya bonko' (i.e. the Prajñā- pāramitā-sātra written on palm leaves) (leaves of the tāla, the Lontarus domestica). Her right hand is held near her breasts, making the mudrā of explaining the Law (seppō-in), the thumb pressing the top of the 'nameless finger' (the ring-finger)." (N.B. A variant reading of bonko is bonkyo.)

18 Concerning the rite of the "Lois mystérieuses," see Steinilber-Oberlin, The Buddhist Sects of Japan, pp. 117f.

20 De Visser, p. 81: The Ananda-paritrana-dharani-preta-kalpa-sutra (N. 985; T. 1318, XXI, 468c ff. - Enkugikikyō) affirms that by means of the mudrā and magic formulas, the preta are invited, their crimes invoked, and their karma fixed. Cf. ibid., p. 83, "the Kalpa for the distributing of food to the pretas" (N. 1467, 2).

21 Mochizuki BD 177b-c.

22 BD 90: R.H. (satori), Sk. prajnā. L.H. (jō), Sk. samādhi. Toganoo, in Mikkyō

shisō to seikatsu, gives the following:

L.H.

World of Satori

Beings Quietude R.H.

World of Illusions

Buddha

Movement

24 BD, 90c quotes this text. Fudarakaieki = Fudarakukaieki (T. 1067, XX, 129b, li. 21ff.), tr. by Fukū (Amoghavajra). Fudara is probably a proper name, Potaraka (Eitel, p. 117b). It is the place where the palace of Avalokitesvara is located. There is an allusion to this palace in Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien, p. 542; likewise on page

NOTES: RITES/CLASSIFICATION

57a of the Ho. Potala is also the name of the quarters of the Dalai-lama situated on the dMarpo-ri, the Dalai-lama being an incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Hackin, Guide, p. 67).

On the subject of Potala, cf. Tucci, "A propos d'Avalokitesvara," pp. 179ff., and Eliot,

Japanese Buddhism, p. 124.

25 According to Mochizuki, table, p. 177.3. The Five mystic Sanskrit signs and the Five Elements in Sanskrit letters are deleted from the table in Diag. 1.

Cf. the hands posed on a lotus (Tun Huang) in Sir M. Aurel Stein, Serindia, IV Pl. XCIX, ch 00153-text, II page 968b. Also cf. the hands in the Daizōkyō zuzō, VIII, plates following pp. 298 and 315.

CLASSIFICATION

- 1 Toganoo, MK, p. 485. Cf. Dainichikyō 6, (T. 848, XVIII, p. 44a, li. 17ff.).
- 2 Mochizuki, BD, 177a, li. 4ff.; Dainichikyō (6) and Daisho 20 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 783b, li. 15ff.) (tr. Ichigyō [I-hang], 683-735, disciple of Kongōchi [Vajrabodhi]). See Hō., fasc. annexe, p. 140a, s.v. Ichigyō.

3 Toganoo, MK, p. 485.

- 4 In certain cases, mudrā imitate cult objects, such as the vajra, the vase, the bell, and others.
 - 5 Toganoo, MK, p. 485. Cf. Daisho (T. 1796, XXXIX, 741b, li. 5-6).

6 Diagrammed in Toganoo, MK, p. 486.

- 7 See Soothill, p. 123a. There is also a reference to the Five Knowledges of the Vairocana group, etc.
- 8 The so-called pact-signs (kei-in) of the Daisho are termed convention-form mudrā (Toganoo, MK, p. 485).
 - 9 In the Tantrārthavatāra-vyākhyāna (Toganoo, MK, p. 486).
 - 10 Toganoo, MK, p. 486. Vajra (ṛṣi?); Jap. Kongōsen: dates uncertain.
- 11 Toganoo, MK, pp. 487-8, indicates the Daisho 15 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 732c ff. [?]). Cf. Kūkai's remarks about attitudes and mudrā in de Bary (ed.) Sources of the Japanese Tradition, p. 142.
 - 12 Kongōchōkyō 3 (T. 865, XVIII, 220a ff.).
 - 13 Daisho (T. 1796, XXXIX, 741b, li. 5).
 - 14 Toganoo, Himitsu jisō no kenkyū, p. 275.
- 15 Murimandarajukyō (T. 1007, XIX, 661a-63a). Toganoo in Himitsu jisō, p. 275, says that 19 shu-in are explained, but as far as I can see the sutra itself mentions 16.
- 16 Subhākarasimha, from Central India. In 716 he arrived at Ch'ang-an, where he resided at the Hsing-fu and the Hsi-ming temples. In 724, he went to Loyang, where he worked and died in 735 at the age of 99.
 - 17 Daisho (T. 1796, XXXIX, 715c). Dainichikyō (T. 848, XVIII, 24a-30a).
- 18 Cf. BD 231b-c for a list of the jūni gasshō. This list differs slightly from that given in the text: the kenjisshin becomes the kenjitsu gassho; the mikairen becomes the nyorai kairen gasshō; the kongō becomes the kimyō gasshō. The others are the same.

The Daisho 13 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 715c [?]) "gives a list of twelve Seals made by joining the hands; the 6th, the 11th, the 12th are called adara" (Sk. ādhāra) - Hō., p. 9a.

Toganoo, MK, p. 485, indicated the four kinds of ken-in (shishu-ken). There are mentions also of the six ken-in: Akiyama, p. 53, and BD 1824, s.v. rokushu-in.

19 For the Lotus clasp (renge gassho) in the Nichiren sect, cf. Smidt, "Eine populäre Darstellung der Shingon-lehre," VII, pp. 117ff.

- 20 Cf. Daisho, 13 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 714c).
- 21 Toganoo, Himitsu jisö, p. 276.
- 22 The kongō ken-in (BD 479c) is formed by presenting the two closed fists in front of the breast. Cf. the figure in BD 479c. This kongō-ken-in is actually the upper hand of the chi ken-in, q.v. For an example of this fist used in the outer Diamond Section of the taizōkai, see BD 1102a. See also Miyano (comp.), Shingon mikkyō zuin-shū, II, 8a.
 - 23 Cf. Kongōchōkyō, T. 865, XVIII, 221c.
 - 24 Daisho (T. 1796, XXXIX, 715c). See also Jishoki (T. 957, XIX, 322b).
 - 25 Toganoo in Himitsu jisō, p. 277, quotes the Kongōchōkyō (T. 865, XVIII, 241b).
- 26 The gebaku ken-in (BD 439b), one of the Four Clasps: gebaku means "exterior bonds." Since the ten fingers remain on the outside, this gesture is also known as shizaigeken, "fingers remaining outside the fist," or kengobaku or kongōbaku. It represents the perfect form of the Ten Virtues. Cf. Soothill, p. 48a.
 - 27 Kongōchōkyō (T. 865, XVIII, 220c).
 - 28 Ibid., p. 221a.
- 29 Gonda Raifu, Mikkyō okugi, p. 80, as noted in Toganoo, Himitsu jisō, p. 278. I have not been able to consult Gonda's book.
 - Toganoo, Himitsu jisõ, p. 278. 30
 - Kongōchōkyōryakushutsunenjukyō (T. 866, XVIII, p. 237b). 31
 - 32 Toganoo, Himitsu jisō, p. 278.
 - 33 Ibid., p. 279.
 - 34 BD 1548a.
 - BD 1357a. 35
- 36 The kenjisshin (BD 416c) represents the Sk. hrdaya (Sino-Jap. karida or kiridaya). It is one of the Four Hearts of tathatā (shinnyo). In the Daisho 13 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 714c, li. 10ff.) the following is noted: "The first handclasp: it represents unshakable sincerity. The ends of the ten fingers, facing each other, are a little separated and a little open. This is called Nekona Gasshō or Kenjisshin Gasshō." Cf. nebina gasshō in BD 1376c. Smidt ("Eine populäre Darstellung der Shingon-lehre," VII, 116) notes the following: "The gasshō of the Zen sect is the gasshō called Kenjitsushin [der Festen Seele]. As the hands are held joined and pressed together, thus does man concentrate himself on inner meditation. This expresses very well the Zen precept: Jikishijinshinkenshöjöbutsu-to become Buddha, whereby, beginning with the most precise knowledge of the nature of his own soul, man perceives the original nature of the human soul."
- 37 The koshin gasshō (BD 465c) is formed according to the Daisho 13 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 714c, li. 12-13), by joining the ends of the ten fingers and leaving a little space between the hands. The Sanskrit is samputa, and the Japanese given here in the text is simply a transliteration of this word. The word "empty" in the name means "empty of passions."
 - Also commonly called the mikairen gasshō. Cf. BD 301a.
 - Also commonly called the shokatsuren gassho. Cf. BD 1633a.
- Also commonly called the kenrō gasshō. This name indicates clarity and lack of dissimulation just as the Lotus (of the good Law) is clear and pure. It is not mysterious (BD 1373c). Cf. BD 149a.
 - Commonly called the jisui gasshō. Cf. BD 29a. 42 Commonly called the kimyō gasshō as well as the kongō gasshō. Cf. BD 1429b-c.

 - 43 BD 1681a. Called in Japanese hansha gasshō (BD 1621b).
 - 44 BD 1490c-91a. Called in Japanese hanjakugoshochaku gassho.
 - 45 In Japanese öchüshi gasshö.

NOTES: CLASSIFICATION/GENERALITIES/SEGAN-IN

46 The fukushukoge gosho (BD 1513a).

47 Fukushu gasshō.

48 The exposition of the Twelve Handclasps is based largely on Toganoo, Himitsu jisō, pp. 279-81.

GENERALITIES

1 Cf. BBK, p. 506.

2 Abhaya, dhyāna, bhūmisparsa, dharmacakra (this last is rather rare) - cf. Foucher, AGBG, p. 328.

3 Ibid., pp. 485-86, fig. 243. The Buddha (Lahore Museum, No. 5, from the stupa of Sikri) makes the semui-in, but he is teaching, for here it is a question of the pred-

ication to the Trayastrimsas gods.

The evolution of the mudra which was to take over definitely the role of expressing the Predication of the Law is impossible to reconstruct. Does it derive from this gesture of the raised hand? The raised hand designates the episode of the elephant: other gestures came to represent the Enlightenment, the Meditation, the Charity, etc. According to the BBK, p. 505, the raised hands of the semui-in (sometimes both hands are in semui-in) may have been brought together to form the temborin-in. This thesis lacks sculptural proofs and since no sculpture exists to show the intermediary forms of the gestures, it is likely to remain hypothetical.

- 4 BBK, p. 506.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Cf. the east wall of the Horyuji and the central statue of the Taemadera.

For Wang Hsüan-ts'e's travels see S. Lévi, "Les Missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans L'Inde" and "Wang Hiuan-tsö et Kanişka." See also P. Pelliot, "A propos des missions de Wang Hiuan-ts'ö" and "Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao Tö King."

- 7 Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus, p. 20.
- 8 Sirén, p. 136.
- 9 In India, Vairocana (Dainichi) makes the dharmacakramudrā (temborin-in); Ratnasambhava (Hōshō), the varadamudrā; Amitābha (Muryōju, Amida), the samādhimudrā (Jō-in); Amoghasiddhi (Fukūjōju), the abhayamudrā (semui-in); and Akşobhya (Ashuku), the bhūmisparšamudrā (sokuchi-in).
 - 10 Sirén, p. 11.
 - 11 Ibid., p. 132.
 - 12 Davidson, The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art, p. 24.
 - 13 Cf. Bagchi, "On the Canons of Image-making: Pingalāmata, ch. IV."
 - 14 Davidson, p. 45; cf. also n. 1.
 - 15 Sirén, p. 132. Cf. the an-i-in, which is an excellent example of this phenomenon.
- 16 See, for example, the Tamon-ten, Brunoff, ed., Histoire de l'art du Japon, Pl. XVI.
 - 17 Sirén, p. 133.

SEGAN-IN

- 1 Tib. mch'og-sbyin (Waddell, p. 337); phyag-gyas-sbyin.
- 2 Also: yogan-in, mangan-in (BD 1025c); cf. BD 1186b, danaharamitsu.
- 3 Dainichikyō, 4 (T. 848, XVIII, 25a, li. 17ff. Dainichikyō: tr. Zemmui (Sk.

Subhākarasimha); from Central India, arrived at Ch'ang-an in 716; died in 785; see Ho., fasc. annexe, p. 152a, s.v. Zemmui. Tr. also by Ichigyō (Ch. I-hang) 683-727, disciple of Zemmui and of Kongōchi (cf. Hō., fasc. annexe, p. 140a, s.v. Ichigyō. On this same detail, see Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, Vol. I, 117-118 (Dainichikyō mitsuin-bon, 9).

- 4 According to Rao, I, 1, p. 14, figs. 4, 5, and 6. See Varahasta in Gangoly, South Indian Bronzes, Pl. XXIII, and Anand, The Hindu View of Art, Pl. XV.
 - 5 See Gonda and Ōmura, Butsuzō shinshū, p. 7; the segan-in at the level of the breast.
 - 6 See Warner, no. 18 (Yakushi); no. 23 (Shaka Trinity).
- 7 Gonda and Omura, p. 7, cite: the Shushinjitsukyō (BD 1035b), abbr. of Shobutsukvogaishoshinjitsukyo (T. 868, XVIII, 276a, li. 4ff.-tr. Hannya (Sk. Prajna), from Kashmir; worked in Ch'ang-an ca. 785-810): "The left hand holds the kesa while the five fingers of the right hand are extended, the palm up (turned outward)."
 - 8 See BD 1025c.
- 9 See Codrington, Ancient India, Pl. 34, fig. A: the left hand in segan-in (?). Cf. the traditional form: Pl. 37, fig. C.
- 10 BD 1025c. (Dainichikyō), Jikkanshō (1, 7), Asabashō (47, 48), Gonda and Omura (p. 11), Auboyer, Burgess ("The right hand of charity," p. 25) all call the segan-in a gesture of the right hand; Rao (p. 14, varadahasta) considers it as a gesture of the left hand.
 - 11 Bhattacharyya, IBI, p. 189.
 - See Sirén, Pls. 35, 38, 41, 227.
- 13 See Koizumi, no 55: Nyo-i-rin Kannon makes the an-i-in and the segan-in: her attitude is that of meditation.
- 14 Cf. Asabashō, 48 (painting): Fukūkensaku Kannon with 8 arms, makes the segan-in (third hand left and right) and the kongō gasshō (second hand left and right), and carries the sistrum (shakujō), q.v., the whisk, the lotus, and the rope.
- 15 See Grousset, Les civilisations de l'Orient: le Japon, p. 44, fig. 30. This statue dates from the XII century.
 - 16 Sirén, Pl. 182.
- 17 Brunoff, ed., Histoire de l'art du Japon in which Pls. V and X seem to show an evolution of this variant.
 - 18 Cf. the Amida Trinity, in Hō., Pl. IV, fig. 1.
 - 19 See Hackin, Guide, p. 77: segan is synonymous to Buddha (Hō., p. 193b).
- 20 IC, p. 627: varada means that which grants wishes, gives gifts; da = "which gives," from the root $D\overline{A}$ -, to give.
- 22 In India it is seen in statues of Maitreya, Manjusrī, Vajrapāņi, Tārā, Visnu, Siva, and others.
- 23 Mallmann, Intro., p. 263. This gesture is seen "in Magadha and more rarely in Mahārāṣṭra, where it seems generally to characterize the end of the style."
- 24 Ibid. Its presence may be noted in the 2-armed statues of Lokanāthā, Khasarpaṇa,
- 25 See Koizumi, no. 27, 6 (left hand): Asabashō, 48: Fukūkensaku Kannon with 8 and Simhāsana-Lokeśvara of Ratnagiri.
- arms (right and left).

 - 27 See Asabashō, 47: Jüichimen Kannon with 4 arms (right hand).
 - 28 Mallmann, Intro., p. 263: Kāranda-vyūha: second scene. 29 Cf. the Five Great Buddhas in Cave X at Yun Kang (V century) in Sirén, Pl.
- 38. They are making the segan-in with the left hand.

NOTES: SEGAN-IN/SEMUI-IN

- 30 See Jikkanshō, I: (kongōkai) Hōshō, as well as (taizōkai) Kaifukeō makes this gesture with the right hand. Cf. Gonda and Omura, p. 7. This is one of the "Act Seals" of the Five Buddhas (gobutsu komma-in), the seal of the Gift, corresponding to Vow pertaining to Ratnasambhava in the Matrix World (Hō., p. 195b).
- Cf. Warner, no. 17: Roshana (Asuka-dera) makes the segan-in with the left hand.
- 32 Ibid., no. 23: Shaka Trinity of the Kondō (Hōryūji). Shakamuni makes the segan-in with his left hand (semui-in with the right): the little finger and the ring finger are slightly bent. Fugen and Monju are on either side, carrying jewels in both hands. Note also the statue of Shakamuni (semui-in, right hand; segan-in, left hand) on the outside of Cave XIII, Yün Kang: the index points to the earth (Sirén, Pl. 41); also Cave IX (Sirén, Pl. 35) and Buddha, Northern Ch'i (Sirén, Pl. 227).

33 See Gonda and Ömura, p. 9, fig. 13, Hodo Nyorai (right hand): and Warner,

no. 107 (?).

Warner, no. 18: Yakushi in the Kondō (Hōryūji), left hand in segan-in (?). Cf. also Kokka, no. 153, VII: central statue of the Yakushi-ji (Nara): the note in Kokka says of the right hand: "The raised thumb and index finger being symbolic of peace and tranquillity."

The Twelve Vows of Yakushi Nyorai (Sk. Bhaisajyaguruvaidūrya-tathāgata) are the

following. The Bodhisattva desires:

1 To enlighten with his own light the whole world; he desires that every being attain deliverance.

2 That his body be luminous.

3 By means of Wisdom, to propagate infinite love.

4 To lead Hinayānists to the Mahāyāna.

5 To give the precepts to beings in order that they may obtain salvation.

6 That the ill become well.

- 7 To cure the poor and the sick by the power of his name.
- 8 That women be reborn in the body of a man in order to obtain salvation.
- 9 To guide back to the right way those who have strayed.
- 10 To save without difficulty and without mishap.

11 To save from hunger and thirst.

12 To give to those beings not clothed vestments and incense.

35 See Grousset, Les Civ. de l'Or.: le Japon, fig. 30: Kichijō-ten of the Jōruriji (Kyoto): segan-in in the right hand. See also ZZ, Pl. 25: Kichijō-ten of the Rokumaji.

SEMUI-IN

1 Cf. Abhayamda, a name of Avalokiteśvara: "he who causes fear to cease." IC, p. 525: a = privative prefix; bhaya = "fear, terror, fright, alarm, peril, danger, distress"; (from the root $BH\overline{I}$ -); da = ``[he who] gives,'' (from the root $D\overline{A}$ -).

2 L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, pp. 140-41. Fig. 100 shows the magna manus depicted on coins. In Arabian literature, Albiruni tells us "Ardshir Balman was called Longimanus, because his command was omnipotent, wherever he liked, as if he were only to stretch out his hand to set things right."

3 L'Orange, p. 147: "It is from the orientalized world of gods of the third century

A.D. the gesture has been transferred to the emperor." According to L'Orange, it was only in Severan times that oriental cults from Semitic Syria became established at Rome.

- 4 Cumont, Fouilles de Doura Europos, pp. 70ff.; quoted in L'Orange, p. 157, n. 2.
- 5 L'Orange, fig. 63, p. 92.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 159ff.
- 7 Ibid., fig. 116, showing Christ in the catacomb of Callistus with right hand raised, palm turned toward Lazarus. In a mosaic at St. Costanza in Rome (ibid., fig. 117) Christ is depicted making this sign as the all-powerful Cosmocrator.
 - 8 Ibid., fig. 119.
 - 8a Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, VI, 493.
- 9 BD 1036c: Shugokokkaishudaranikyō (T. 997, XIX, 530c, li, 28ff.); tr. Hannya (Sk. Prajña) and Munishitsuri (Sk. Munisri), the latter being an Indian monk from Nālanda, arrived at Ch'ang-an in 800, died in 806. This passage also occurs in the Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, Vol. L, 117.
 - 10 Cf. Diagram II.
 - BD 1036; Dainichikyō, 4 (T. 848, XVIII, 25a, li. 12).
- 12 Rao, p. 14; cf. figs, 1, 2, and 3. Takata (Indo nankai no bukkyō bijutsu, p. 46) gives the same description. Bose (Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra, p. 59) notes to texts that describe the vara and abhayamudrā: Mayaśāstram (the text of which he gives in Sk.) and Pratimā-māna-laksanam.
- 13 BD 1036c, Senkögengyö (Senkögen = Kannon with 1,000 arms T. 1065, XX, 122a, li. 23ff.
- 14 Kööbosatsudaranikyö (T. 1401, XXI) cited in BD 1036c. This sütra was translated by I-ching (635-713). It contains rules for the making of images and for the composition of dhāranī. Cf. Soothill, p. 252b. The sūtra is also called the Kōōkyō, abbr. of Daikongōkōdaranikyō (T. 1401, N. 868).
 - 15 Cf. Asabashō, 7: Kannon.
- 16 The Five Destinations (gati; Tajima translates "Orientations") are: (1) gods, (2) men, (3] animals, (4) preta, (5) infernal beings; sometimes a sixth is added: asura. Cf. Soothill, p. 125a-b.
 - 17 Cf. BBK, p. 506.
- 18 Bhattacharyya (IBI, p. 189) distinguishes the abhayamudrā, the simple raised hand, from the capetadanamudra, "the right hand menacingly extended upwards just as we do in dealing a slap."
 - 19 Foucher, Inconographie bouddhique, pp. 68-69.
- 20 Cf. Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, p. 161, fig. 41 and fig. 59. The Si-do-in-dzou, p. 43, notes that the ritual usage requires that the ends of the fingers be at the level of the priest's head. Cf. Warner, Pl. 69.
- 22 This gesture is by far the most common on Gandharan statues, as well as on those of Mathura and Amaravati, where the mudra assumes a multiple use. This double gesture is present in Brahmanism: cf. the Skanda, Musée Guimet (Milloué, Petit Guide 23 Kaneko in "Butsuzō no in," uses this same nomenclature, i.e., "yogan-semui-in." illustré au Musée Guimet, p. 71).
- 24 Cf. Toganoo, MK, p. 483, li. 5-9: This legend is attested in several texts: Hokkuhiyukyō, 3 (T. 211, IV): Abidombibasharon (T. 1546, N. 1264): Daibibasharon (T. 1545). 25 Glasenapp, MB, p. 144: "When Devadatta threw a maddened elephant against

the Buddha, far from killing or wounding this animal, the Sublime One tamed it by causing his own benevolence to enter into it: as a result the elephant, falling at his feet, worshiped him." Cf. fig. 15 in Grousset Les Civ. de l'Or.: L'Inde.

For the subduing of the maddened elephant and the different versions of the legend, Foucher (La Vie du Bouddha, p. 289) sends the reader to Hsüan-tsang, in: Julien (tr.), Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, II, 16; Beal (tr.), Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, 150 (cf. n. 39); and Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, 149. Also cf. Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, II, pp. 169-70 and Pl. X, 5.

27 The legend of the lions is attested in the Zappōzōkyō (cf. Zappōzōkyō [8], T. 203, IV, 488c ff.). This text was translated by Kikkaya (Kimkārya?) and Don'yō.

- 28 Toganoo refers the reader to the Butsuhongyōkyō (T. 192, IV, 93c), but this text makes no mention that I can discover of the five colors. Also reference is made in this text to the arm (or elbow) rather than specifically to the hand as the part of the anatomy from which the rays are supposed to emanate.
- 29 The passage from Foucher is cited according to Hackin, p. 81: cf. also fig. 15 in Grousset L'Inde.

Note the ivory plaque from Bégram, at present in the Musée Guimet (there identified as "chantier no. 2," I-II cent. B.C.). It represents a lion which affronts an elephant and tames it by making the semui-in ($abhayamudr\bar{a}$). Should these plaques bear witness to the existence of this version of the legend in the I-II centuries A.D.?

- The legend attributes the semui-in to the right hand. It may be noted, however, that two-handed statues in semui-in are not lacking (cf. Asabashō, 47: Kannon with 11 heads and 4 arms; cf. also the bronze statue of a standing Buddha [Siam, XV-XVI centuries] in the Musée Guimet). It is doubtless question of a simple repetition of the semui-in of the right hand rather than a left-handed semui-in.
 - 31 Foucher, AGBG, pp. 327-28.
 - 32 Cf. no. 1.
 - 33 According to the $H\bar{o}$., mushoi = "assurance" (Sk. $vais\bar{a}radya$).
- 34 Soothill, p. 178a: Buddha = omniscience, perfection of character, overcoming opposition, ending of suffering. Bodhisattva = powers of memory, of moral diagnosis and application of the remedy, of ratiocination, and of solving doubts.
 - 35 Cf. BD 1722a.
 - 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid. Cf. the translation of de Visser ("The Arhats in China and Japan," p. 96): "Exhaustion of leaking"; that is, āsravakṣaya; according to Kern, "the destruction of defiling passions."
 - 38 BD 1722a and 1031c.
 - 39 BD 1722a and 1032a.
- 40 According to Tajima, pp. 108ff., the first member of this double way is the "trikalpa (sangō) which consists of going beyond the three sorts of attachment of the passions."

In Sk., the Six Fearlessnesses are sannirbhaya, kāyanirbhaya, nairātmyanirbhaya, dharma-nirbhaya, dharmanairātmyanirbhaya, sarvadharmasamatānirbhaya.

- 41 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 42.
- 42 Sirén, p. 134: "sceau de l'Assurance."
- 43 Foucher, AGBG, p. 68: "la mudrā qui rassure": Abhayapāņi = "celui qui a à la main l'Absence de Crainte."

- 44 Cf. Soothill, p. 381, abhaya = fearless, dauntless, secure, nothing and nobody to fear: also vīra, courageous, bold.
 - 45 Rao, p. 14: "the protection-affording hand-pose."
- 46 Foucher, pp. 485-86: cf. fig. 243, p. 485 (Lahore Museum, no. 5 Stūpa of Sikri). The Buddha (Musée Guimet, no. 17478, Afghanistan, III-IV century) forms the semui-in with the right hand; on the palm may be seen a wheel, which indicates that this gesture symbolizes the Teaching.
- 47 Cf. Davidson, The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art, p. 30 and Pls. 3 and 4. The semui-in occurs in various stelae as well: cf. ibid., p. 35.
 - 48 Ibid., p. 67.
- 49 Ibid.: "There is an obvious confusion here between literary and artistic traditions."
- 50 Dipamkara is the most ancient of the 24 Buddhas, predecessors of the historical Buddha. The name dipamkara appears to mean "maker of lamps (dipa) or of lights" (Buhot, "La Pluralité des Bouddhas," p. 34).
- Cf. Eitel, p. 50, who translates "The Fix-Light Buddha"; and Doré, Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine, pp. 67ff.
- The meaning of holding the kesa (stole) is difficult to ascertain. It would seem, according to modern explanations by Shingon priests whom the author has interviewed on the subject, that holding the stole signifies "honoring the Law," for kesa is equated to Law.
 - 51a Price, tr., The Diamond Sūtra, p. 24.
- 52 Cf. the Ashuku of the Hōryūji (ZZ, Pl. 42), who holds a fold of his stole in the left hand.
- 53 Mallmann, Intro., p. 261, n. 2: "We have not found in India one single image of a two-armed Avalokitesvara in which the god is represented with both hands raised. There exist relatively few in which the two hands are lowered."
 - 54 Ibid., Pl. VI.
 - 55 Ibid., p. 261.
- 56 Cf. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture: Pl. 8, Bodhisattva of Katra (Mathura), ca. A.D. 100; Pl. 82, Buddha-Bodhisattva (fragment), Mathurā, ca. A.D. 80-100; Pl. 129, Amaravati (end of the II century).
 - BD 1036. The terms Semuibosatsu and Semui-sha are equivalent to Kannon.
- Saddharma Pundarīka, tr. H. Kern, p. 412. According to Stael-Holstein, in this chapter is found the oldest explanation of the name of Avalokitesvara: Mallmann (Intro., p. 65) sends the reader to Staël-Holstein, "Avalokita und Apalokita."
 - 59 Mallmann, Intro., p. 262, cf. Pl. IIIb.
 - 60 Ibid., Pl. IIIa.
 - 61 Cf. Koizumi, no. 6: Kanzeon (bronze).
 - 62 Cf. Warner, no. 49: Nyo-i-rin Kannon (Imperial Household Collection).
 - 63 Hō., Pl. VIII.
 - 64 Cf. Batō Kannon, in Hō, pp. 58-61.
- 66 Yakushinyorainenjugiki (T. 924, XIX, 29b, li. 19ff.): BD 1752a. Tr. by Amoghavajra (Fukū) before 774, the year of his death. This text is cited by Gonda and Ōmura, p. 15, li. 9ff.
- 67 The medicine receptacle is the lapis lazuli of twelve angles and represents the Twelve Vows of Yakushi (jūnijōgan). For the Twelve Vows, cf. Soothill, p. 473a; de Visser, ABJ, p. 534.

NOTES: SEMUI-IN/AN-I-IN

- The kessankai-in, mudrā of "tying the Three Worlds," is so called because this gesture, by binding Sentient Beings, prevents them from falling into fear or calamities. The Three Worlds (Sk. triloka) are: (1) Desire World (Sk. kāmadhātu); (2) Form World (Sk. rūpadhātu); (3) Formless World (Sk. arūpadhātu); cf. Soothill, p. 70b.
 - 69 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 15; cf. fig. 17.
 - 70 Ibid., p. 15: Yakushi Nyorai.
- 71 Cf. the famous statues in bronze of the Kondō (Hōryūji) from the beginning of the VII century - Warner, no. 18.
- 72 Cf. Warner, no. 30: Yakushi of the Hōrin-ji, wood, Suiko period; Kokka, no. 166, VI: Kō-Yakushi of the Shin Yakushi-ji (Yamato); the right hand is in semui-in, and the left hand, pendent, holds a medicine bowl (c. 673-85, Hakuhō period).
- 73 Cf. Kokka, no. 96, V: the central figure of the Yakushi-ji (Nara), VI-VII centuries; no. 153, VII: Yakushi-ji, VII-VIII centuries; no. 159, VI: Kōzan-ji, Kyoto, VIII century.
- 74 Cf. the Yakushi of the Hokkai-ji (Yamashiro). The medicine bowl is resting on the hands joined in hokkaijō-in. But according to de Visser (p. 565) this statue is perhaps late. The same form is found in the mandala of the XII century depicted in Kokka, no. 32, I.
 - 75 Cf. Warner, Pl. 107.
- 76 Getty (Addenda, p. 40) maintains that the mudrā in which the end of the thumb and the end of the index are brought more or less close together is the most common in Korea. The one that shows the thumb and the ring finger close together is very rare.
 - 77 Cf. Hō., Pl. IV: the Amida trinity.
 - 78 BD 1705a, s.v. mushofushi-no-in.
- 79 If, in the gestures of statues of Shakamuni in segan-semui-in, the indexes are bent inward, the statue belongs to the Shingon sect (Getty).
- Cf. Sirén, no. 41, Shakamuni, Yün Kang (outside of Cave XII); Warner, no. 23: Śāka Trinity (Kondō, Hōryūji). The Shaka of the Musée Guimet, Japan, XVI century, forms the compound gesture of the segan-semui-in; the thumbs and the indexes touch and the fingers are slightly bent; the same is the case of the Buddha statue (bronze) of the Musée Guimet, China, XVI century.
 - 80 Cf. Warner, no. 17; Roshana (Asuka-dera).
 - 81 ZZ, Pl. 86.
 - 82 Elisséeff, "Mythologie du Japon," p. 412.
 - 83 Cf. Sirén, Pls. 26, 30, 35, 38, 44, 50, 51.

AN-I-IN

- 1 Both the Sanskrit designation and the symbolic prototype of this gesture are in default. The vitarkamudrā corresponds to the designation seppō-in and signifies "argumentation," "reasoning."
- 2 According to Sanskrit texts, this designation, although common, should be admissible only to designate the so-called vitarkamudra. Mallmann has brought to my attention that vyākhyānamudrā designates rather the dharmacakramudrā. The justification of the term dharmacakra may be found in the fact that the most frequent form of temborin-in consists of two an-i-in (i.e., seppō-in) juxtaposed. It remains to be noted whether the vyākhyānamudrā is a gesture made by the two hands or if it is a gesture of one hand alone. Majumdar (The History of Bengal, p. 475) reports: "Vitarka (discussion) or Vyākhyāna (explanation) - in which the 'tips of the thumb and the fore-finger are made to touch each other. The palm of the hand is made to face the front' (Rao)."

3 L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship, p. 171.

4 Ibid., p. 175.

- 5 Cf. ibid., p. 181, n. 2, for Quintilian's description of this gesture.
- 6 It is present in early Christian art and through the Middle Ages on.
- Cf. L'Orange, fig. 120. The so-called benedictio graeca corresponds in form to the kichijō-in.
 - 8 L'Orange, pp. 175-76.
- 9 This gesture changed in the Middle Ages from characterizing a confessor Christ to denoting a benedictory Christ (L'Orange, p. 183).
 - 10 Ibid., p. 187.
 - 11 Ibid., pp. 194-95.
- 12 An-i-shōshu-in (Mochizuki, BD, p. 78): "gesture of consolation and of gathering in." From an-i or i-an, console, pacify, relieve, encourage, calm, tranquillize.
- 13 Linossier, "L'Iconographie de la descente d'Amida," p. 118. The author calls this mudra "the gesture of tranquillity." This form is less frequent than the two others.
 - 14 Cf. Brunoff, ed., Histoire de l'art du Japon, Pl. XXV.
- 15 Cf. an-i-in, which figures in Pl. 26 of the ZZ: the right hand is in classical an-i-in: that is, the index and the thumb are joined, while the left hand, lying on the left knee, palm up, makes the an-i-in with the thumb and the index.
- 16 Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17. For this gesture in Central Asia, cf. the Tokharan monk in Ernst Waldschmidt, Gandhāra, Kuţscha, Turfan, Pl. 21a, as well as Pls. 52, 55a and b.
 - 17 Auboyer, "Moudra," p. 156. Cf. Codrington, Ancient India, Pl. 31a.
 - 18 Foucher, Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique, p. 68.
 - 19 BBK, p. 506.
- 20 Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17: Mochizuki, in describing this gesture, really makes the description of the compound gesture segan-semui-in.
 - 21 ST, II, Pl. 6.
- 22 Rao, p. 16 (joining the thumb and the index). Mudrā of explication or of exposition. This author calls it (p. 16) vyākhyānamudrā and samdaršanamudrā, and for him the $i\bar{n}\bar{a}namudr\bar{a}$ is formed by joining the ends of the thumb and the middle finger and by turning the palm toward the body.
- 23 Vyākhyānamudrā. Vyākhyāna means "detailed exposition or explanation" (IC, p. 706a).
 - 24 Buhot, Les Arts de l'Extrême-Orient, p. 352: ST, II, Pl. 6.
- 25 Sirén, p. 134: the open hand "in abhayamudrā except that the index or the middle finger touches the end of the thumb." Cf. Getty, p. 201.
- 27 Foucher, after examining two Nepalese miniatures which recall the Avalokitesvara that Mallmann ("Notes sur les bronzes du Yunnan," p. 578) speaks of, "was not able to determine on either one of them whether the gesture which was reproduced was the abhaya or the vitarkamudrā." Cf. Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 193, no. 20 (Sinhaladvipe-ārogaśālā) and p. 212, no. 28 (same).
- One may in fact note a similarity of form between the segan-in, mudra of the gift of the Vow, and the an-i-in-a contamination analogous, moreover, to that which exists between the semui-in and the an-i-in (cf. Nihon no chōkoku, III, 8).
- 29 Cf. also the Bodhisattva (?) from Central Java which seems to make the an-ishoshu-in (Hackin, La Sculpture indienne et tibétaine du Musée Guimet, Pl. XL).
 - 30 Mallmann, "Notes sur les bronzes du Yunnan," p. 578.

Cf. Daizōkyō zuzō, VIII, p. 24.

Ibid.: cf. fig. 44, p. 36, for another gesture of this same designation.

33 Cf. Hachidaibosatsumandarakyō (T. 1167, XX, 675c li. 18). This text is rendered in modern Japanese in Mochizuki, BD, p. 78a, li. 4.

54 Eitel (p. 189a) notes a transcription. Tib., byan-chub-mch'og.

Waddell (p. 337, cf. fig. on page 336: Vairocana): "The best Perfection . . . Indexfinger and thumb of each hand are joined and held almost in contact with the breast at the level of the heart." Burgess, "Buddhist Mudras," p. 25a: "The Uttara-bodhi-mudrā (. . . byan-chūb) ascribed to Vairocana Buddha . . . is apt to be confounded with the Dharmachakra mudrā." Getty (p. 179) gives the description of another mudrā under the heading of "uttara-bodhi" (Sino-Jap. renge-no-in). For "Uttara," see IC, p. 138a. Also, see Gordon Tibetan Lamaism, p. 23.

35 Cf. Waddell, fig. p. 5; Williams, pp. 196, 197. Waddell (p. 337) distinguishes what he calls "the preaching" of the abhayamudra: the first presents the thumb inflected. When the thumb and the ring finger touch this form is called the "triangular pose." The

abhayamudrā presents the hand raised, the fingers up.

36 Cf. Mallmann, "Notes sur les bronzes du Yunnan," Pl. I, facing p. 596. But Mochizuki, BD, p. 78 (or Pl. 17) shows the two hands each forming a circle. According to Chapin ("Yünnanese Images of Avalokiteśvara," Pl. 144), in the statues of Avalokiteśvara, this bastard gesture of compassion, a characteristic quality of this divinity, may have been attributed by the image-makers to the left hand, which had lost its attribute (lotus?).

Cf. the two statues of Avalokiteśvara at the Musée Guimet: M.A. 18, gilt bronze, end XII-beginning XIII century (an-i-in in the right hand; shōshu, "gathering in," in the left hand); M.A. 1039, XIV-XV cent. (?) has the same disposition of the hands.

- 37 Mochizuki, BD, p. 78: "An-i-in means the 'seal' which consoles all Beings: ani-shōshu-in is also said." The same designation is used in Chinese: cf. Chapin, "Yünnanese Images," pp. 144-45.
 - 38 Mochizuki BD, p. 78.
- 39 According to Demiéville, shōshu (Ch. shê-ch'u) would correspond more exactly to the Sanskrit sangraha "gathering in." The an-i-shōshu-in is probably not of Indian origin, and consequently the term created to designate it does not have any exact Sanskrit equivalent: it is simply the "gesture which gathers in - or which assembles - (Sentient Beings) in order to appease (them) and to console (them)." Cf. Mallmann, "Notes," Pl. 578.
 - 40 Chapin, "Yünnanese Images," p. 145, n. 30 (based on the Bukkyō daijii 4.2963).
- 41 This position goes back, like the others, to an Indian prototype; cf. Foucher, pp. 487-88, fig. 243.
 - 42 Cf. Shaka "Teaching the Law," Pl. 53 of the BD.
 - 43 Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 68.
 - 44 Vitarka: here "reasoning, reflection" (IC, p. 653b).
- 45 Ho., 85a, s.v. Bitaka. An older translation = kakkan. According to Soothill, p. 481a, "awareness and pondering, acts of intellectualization . . . both of them hindrances to abstraction, or dhyana."
- 46 Foucher (AGBG, pp. 487-88, fig. 342): the right hand is in semui-in (here = Teaching), and the left hand is in vitarka (Argumentation-Teaching).
- 47 Amida butsu seppō-in: cf. Daranijikkyō 2 (T. 901, XVIII, 800c, li. 4ff.). Both hands are held in front of the breast.
 - 48 Also chi Kichijō-in (BBK, p. 5076); Sk. śrīmudrā; Ch. chi-hsang-ying.
 - 49 Sk. Lakşmi (BD 1776b).

De Visser, ABJ, p. 309: Kichijō-ten = Goddess of felicity = Kudoku-ten, "Devi of Blessing Virtue." She is the younger sister of Bishamon-ten (Vaiśravaṇa).

De Visser, p. 309, sec. 16-17 of the Kongōmyōsaishōōkyō (T. 665, XVI, 440a, sec. 16-

17). Śrī is worshiped for abundant harvest as well as for good fortune.

Kichijō-ten or Kudoku-ten is the daughter of Tokushaka (Taksaka, king of the Naga, one of the four kings called Ryū-ō, dragon kings) and of Kishimo (Kareitei, Sk. Hārltī, mother of the demons: cf. Eitel, p. 62b). She was early assimilated into the Buddhist pantheon. In Japan, Kichijō-ten is a benevolent goddess of a very active popular cult. Buddhist texts put Kichijo-ten at the head of the deva, who, having heard the doctrinary explanations of the Buddha, were content. They promised to devote themselves completely to the protection of the sūtras and to bring it about that those who would keep them (i.e., the sūtras) should be exempt from pain and capable of attaining eternal happiness (de Visser, p. 309, sec. 22 of the Kongōmyōsaishōōkyō, T. 665, XVI, 444c-446c). This cult appears in Japan as early as the VIII cent. It possesses its own rites and ceremonies for the goddess Kichijo (cf. de Visser, pp. 309-10).

- Cf. ST VI: Śri, wood, Jōruriji (Kutaiji), Tō-no-o, Yamashiro. Compare with ST, I: the image of Kichijo-ten of the Yakushi-ji.
 - Daisho en'okushō (15) is cited in the BD 243a.
- Kudoku means "virtue achieved," "power to do meritorious works." See Soothill, pp. 167b-168a.
 - 52 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 14.
 - 53 Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, Daisho (9), Vol. L, 115.
- 54 Cf. Ho., p. 30a (Amida of the 9 classes); and Demiéville, "Les Versions chinoises du Milindapañha," p. 236.
 - Waddell, p. 337, 8. (Tib. = pa-dan rtse gsum). Cf. Getty, p. 181, s.v. Vitarka.
 - 56 Getty, p. 181. Waddell, p. 337, 8.

57 Cf. ST, II, Pl. 6: Bronze statue of Shakamuni. The text gives the esoteric interpretation.

58 Cf. ST, I, Shakamuni of the Kanimanji, Kyoto (bronze), right hand: this gesture is very frequent in Outer India (cf. statue 18891 of the Musée Guimet, Khmer, VIII cent.); as well as in China (cf. Sirén, no. 30: here the thumb and the index [left hand] are raised but do not touch, the other fingers being flexed toward the palm). According to Sirén, the Buddha is seated in the "attitude of Predication" (p. 16), indicated by the presence of the gazelles and the three wheels.

For Buddhas there are three states:

- Dharmakāya (hosshin, Essence Body) Buddha who, freed from all that is human, has entered into nirvāņa. In nirvāņa personality disappears; only the thumb touches the
- 2 Sambhogakāya (hōjin, Fruition Body) Buddha, as chief of the Bodhisattvas, communicates with them; the thumb touches the middle finger.
- 3 Nirmāņakāya (ōjin, correspondence body) Buddha takes on human form in order to

preach; the thumb touches the ring finger. 59 Koizumi, no. 31: Amida Nyorai; right hand raised, the left hand reposes in the

lap, the thumb and the index joined: cf. also no. 46.

ST, I: Amida of the Zenrin-ji, Kyoto (Fujiwara period), the two hands are in front of the breast, the thumb touching the index and forming two an-i-in, which are, to a certain extent, here, the "seal of welcoming" of Amida.

60 Hō., Amida, p. 29a.

NOTES: AN-I-IN/KONGŌ-GASSHŌ/SOKUCHI-IN

The idea of the 9 classes of Amidas seems to date from the middle of the Heian period. The concept is set forth in the Kammuryōju [butsu] kyō (T. 365, XII, 340b ff.). In describing the hand positions of the 9 classes of Amida, the left hand is said to be in segan-in and the right in semui-in with the appropriate fingers touching.

The an-i-in of the Amida of the 9 classes (kuhon Amida; cf. Hō., p. 30a and Demiéville, "Les versions chinoises," p. 236, and Butsuzō- "ikonogurafī," p. 16) may be seen on the 9

Amida statues of the Kuhon-butsu Joshin-ji, Tokyo.

It should be noted that this iconography was not really established until the end of the XI cent., although the kuhonmandara, Circle of the 9 Classes, was introduced from China by Eun in 847 (cf. Hō., p. 29a).

N.B. For the other mudra of the Amida of the 9 Classes, cf. the present text, s.v. jo-in (infra). It must be noted that the Amida of the 9 Classes of the Hō., p. 28, fig. 13, form another and different series of mudrā. Variant listings are also noted in the Butsuzō- "ikonogurafī," p. 16.

62 Cf. Hō., p. 29a: Daishūkōyō of Kōken (pub. 1739).

63 Mochizuki, BD, p. 78. ZZ, Pl. 31: the two attendants of Amida show the an-ishoshu-in (left hand raised in an-i-in, right hand making the gesture of "gathering in."

64 Cf. ZZ: Pl. 54 represents Yaku-ō bosatsu and Yaku-jō bosatsu forming the an-i-in with the right hand, "assembling and welcoming" with the left.

Cf. Bashi, an adept in Esotericism, according to the Himitsu jirin (870): "The right hand is raised, the palm in front, the thumb and the index form a circle" (Ho., pp. 56-57). Cf. the vitarkamudra of Siva as master of Science, South India (Musée Guimet, 18519).

65 Koizumi, nos. 22, 55. Sirén, no. 575, Kuan-yin (Sung) with the right hand in vitarka (thumb and middle finger).

66 Cf. Gonda and Ōmura, p. 54; Miroku makes the daiji-sammai-no-in.

- 67 Ho., p. 118b. According to the Hizōki, Brahmā holds a lance with one of the right hands, with the other he makes the an-i-in ("Seal of the Gift of Security").
 - 68 Cf. Nihon butsuzō zusetsu, Pl. 22.

69 Ibid., Pl. 99.

70 Ibid., Pl. 85.

71 Cf. Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, vol. on iconography, fig. following p. 124.

KONGŌ-GASSHŌ

1 Gasshō or gasshu, Sk. praṇāma. The kongō-gasshō is the seventh of the Twelve gassho. Soothill, p. 203, calls this gesture "the mother of all manual signs." See Miyano, Mikkyō zuinshū, II, p. 8. BD 1102 calls this gesture the bashari-in (i.e., vajramudrā). It is made by taizōkai Taishaku (Indra).

Bhattacharyya, p. 189: añjali, sarvarājendra, sampuţāñjali.

2 Daisho 13 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 715c): BD 478a.

3 Kimyō-gasshō: the joined hands symbolize the act of taking refuge in the Buddha. Kimyō issaichi, "I entrust myself (vow myself) to the Omniscient." Cf. Sk. namah sarvajñāya siddham, "Adoration to the Omniscient according to the siddha."

4 BD 247c, li. 1: Sk. pranāma.

5 Sk. namo añjalikarmamudrā; namaskāra, "prayer" (Getty, p. 54). BD 805a-b.

6 According to Ono Kiyohide Kaji kitō oku-den: cf. Pl. following p. 5.

7 According to the BD 231c, under the heading "gasshō shashu." In Esotericism, these two gestures seem to be equivalent. Mochizuki, BD (Pl. 17) under "kongō-gasshō,"

shows the ends of the fingers interlocked; the author calls the hands joined against each other "kenjisshin-gasshō."

- 8 Gyöbokanyöshö (1, quoted in BD 247b). Cf. Rengebushinki, quoted in BD 247b: "kimyō-gasshō or kongō-gasshō are said."
- 9 Jūhokkai (Hō., p. 135a). In the system of the Ten Essence Worlds of the Tendai school, laymen belong to the six lesser Worlds (hells, dead, animals, asura, men, gods), and Saints belong to the four Higher Worlds (auditors, Buddhas-for-self, Bodhisattvas, and Buddhas . . . (p. 135b). The Shingon school divides the laymen between the hells, the dead, the animals, the men, and the asura-deva, while the Saints are auditors, Buddhas-forself, Bodhisattvas, and Buddhas.

According to the Kokuyaku Daizōkyō (Dainichikyō), Vol. L, 115, the kimyō-gasshō is equivalent to the kongō-gasshō. The drawing here shows the two hands joined, the tips of the fingers interlocked, right thumb over left.

- 10 Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17. Cf. the (kenjitsu-)gasshō of the Zen sect Smidt, p. 116 (Pl. VII, fig. 4).
 - 11 BD 231b.
 - 12 Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. XXVIII (2).
- 13 Smidt, p. 116: The kongō-gasshō corresponds to the kongōkai, the renge-gasshō to the taizōkai, because the Shingon sect is a system of the kongōkai and the Tendai a system of taizōkai.
- 14 Ibid., p. 117ff. The author notes that the "Jodo and Shin sects have only the koshin-gasshō, without the crossed thumbs of the kongō-gasshō, a crossing which the Jōdo sect identifies with the koshin-gasshō of the other fingers. This is the renge-gasshō of Amida Nyorai."
- 15 BD 1214c: by "contemplating one's fundamental nature and becoming Buddha" it is meant that one attains the state of Buddha by rejecting all literary help, by examining directly the (human) heart, and by penetrating into and by perceiving the fundamental nature of the heart (according to the Goshoron). Cf. Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, p. 160.

Smidt, p. 116: "To become Buddha, whereby one perceives the essence of the human soul, through the most exact knowledge of the nature of one's own soul."

- 16 Cf. tr. of the Gyōbōkanyōshō (1), quoted in BD 247b.
- 17 BD 247b, li. 2-4. Kimyō = Sk. Namas, namaḥ, namo (namu). Note the expression Namu Amida Butsu (Hō., p. 198a).
 - 18 Cf. Asabashō, 48: Fukūkensaku Kannon.

 - 20 Mallmann (p. 263) notes that the particular intention of this gesture is con-

firmed by the name Sarvarājendra, "sovereign of all the kings."

- 21 Ibid., p. 263: "among the Indian forms of Avalokitesvara, only Şadakşrı-Lokeśvara holds his main hands in añjalimudrā. We have not met with this gesture in any human Avalokiteśvara."
- 23 Koizumi, no. 51: Monju; Sirén, IV, 503, Bodhisattva at T'ien Lung Shan; Nihon no chōkoku, V, 32: Fugenbosatsu.

SOKUCHI-IN

1 IC, p. 872: bhūmi, "earth"; sparša, "touch," from the root SPRS- "to look for, to put one's hand on." Spars is glossed in Jap. by fueru (sawaru), "to touch, feel, contact"; $bh\bar{u}mi = chi$, "earth, that which may produce," "that which serves as a base." Cf. BD 1189c, li. 20 and Soothill, p. 336b, "that on which it relies."

2 The divinity which makes the sokuchi-in should be seated in vajraparyanka (cf. āsana, infra; Bhattacharyya, p. 190. Sirén (p. 135) maintains that the attitude which should

accompany this gesture (for China, at least) is that of the padmāsana.

3 Takata, Indo bukkyō-shi, Pl. 10, following p. 170, shows the right hand, palm out, in sokuchi-in, and Pl. 19 (Ajanță, Cave 7, no. 1) shows the same disposition. The author calls these gestures mudrā of the demons' defeat. Also cf. Mochizuki, BD (1954), 3139c.

4 Hō., p. 40b, under Ashuku.

- 5 According to Kongōsattaki (Kongōsatta = Vajrasattva; BD 481b), cited in Gonda and Ōmura, p. 6. Cf. Shōshinjitsukyō (T. 868, XVIII, 275c, li. 26ff.): BD 1035b.
- 6 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 6. Getty (p. 165) writes: "The right arm is pendent over the right knee, the left hand lies on the lap, palm upward."

7 Cf. Hō., p. 40b: also fig. 19, p. 40.

8 An, "restrain, repress, consider, investigate, mass."

9 Toganoo, MK, pp. 482-83, notes that mention is found of this story in Fuyōkyō (T. 186, III, 483ff.) and in Höködaishögonkyō (T. 187, III, 539ff.) -i.e., the Lalitavistara. Also cf. Foucher, La Vie du Bouddha, pp. 183-84.

In the Fuyōkyō, it is explained that the Buddha indicates the earth, but the gods of the earth are not mentioned. The Höködaishögenkyö mentions the apparition (Toganoo, MK, p.

483, n. 1) of the gods.

9a Cf. Warren, Buddhism in Translations, pp. 80-81. But not all texts mention Vessantara. The Mahāvastu, for example, is completely silent on this subject. Cf. Rowland's review of The Life of the Buddha.

10 Also gōma-sō (BBK, p. 506).

Note also the raised index, at the level of the eyebrow, which expresses the anger that vanquished the demons (cf. Si-do-in-dzou, p. 73; cf. fuma-in of the Taizō inzu (Vol. I) in the Daizōkyō zuzō, VIII, p. 189, fig. 46: cf. Himitsu jirin, p. 960.

In India this form of the raised index constitutes the tarjanimudrā, a mudrā of warning or of menace. If a lasso is found attached to the index, the gesture is called tarjanīpāsa: if the hand holds a vajra (the index raised as usual) the gesture is called vajratarjanī (Bhattacharyya, p. 197: cf. Mallmann, Intro., p. 265). If the stiffened finger indicates an object on the ground, the gesture is called sūcī hasta (Rao, I, 1, pp. 14ff.).

- 12 Mārarāja, god of lust, sin, and death, who may assume many monstrous forms and who sent his daughters to seduce or to frighten the "saints on earth" (Eitel, p. 97a).
 - 13 Evil spirit (cf. Eitel, p. 202b).
 - 14 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 73. Cf. Shugokokkaishukyō (T. 997, XIX, 530b, li. 22).

15 Conze, Buddhism, p. 35.

- 16 Burgess ("Buddhist Mudras," p. 25a) writes: "The Bhūmisparśa (Bhūmispṛś) or Dharmasparśa mudra-the 'earth-pointing' or 'witness' attitude of Śākya-Buddha and Akshobhya. . . ."
 - 17 Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 69.

18 Glasenapp, MB, p. 98.

19 Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 69.

20 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 6.

- 21 For texts concerning the nosaibuku-in, kama-in, and nometsu-binayaka-in, cf. Hō., p. 40, s.v. Ashuku.
 - 22 Sirén, p. 136: "mudrā de l'Ensorcellement."

- 23 Hō., p. 195b. The sokuchi-in corresponds to Aksobhya of the Diamond World (kongō-kai): in the Matrix World (taizōkai) it corresponds to Dundubhisvara.
- According to the Shōshinjitsukyō (cf. n. 5, supra), text cited in Gonda and Ōmura, p. 6, li. 2.

According to Gonda and Ōmura, p. 6, li. 9-10, the act of holding the kesa indicates the defeat of the demons.

- After the Shōshoyugaki (T. 1120a) cited in Gonda and Ōmura, p. 6, li. 3ff. Cf. BD 846c.
- Cf. Jikkanshō, I (kongōkai) Ashuku makes the sokuchi-in with his right hand: the left hand holds a section of his robe. The five-pointed vajra (goko-sho) is assigned to him as an attribute - which would explain the presence of the kongo ken-in made sometimes with the left hand.
- 27 Gonda and Ōmura, fig. 15 (p. 10): Tenkuraion [Ku-on] (= Fudō.) Cf. BD 1246c.
- 28 Hō., p. 40a, s.v. Ashuku. Cf. also Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, section on images and symbolism, p. 12.
 - 29 Mochizuki, BD (1954), 3139c.
- 30 Cf. Sekino, Chosen no kenchiku to geijutsu, Pl. 17: Buddha; and Pl. 21: Amida Nyorai.

JŌ-IN

1 Dhyānamudrā (Eitel, p. 49a-b, "abstraction," "contemplation," "exercises in reflection"); also jāānamudrā, padmāsanamudrā, samādhimudrā (Burgess, "Buddhist Mudras," p. 25); Hō., p. 16a: "Extase où est éliminée l'obstruction des passions."

Majumdar, The History of Bengal, I, p. 475, describes the jñānamudrā thus, citing Rao: "The tips of the middle finger and the thumb are joined together and held near the heart, with the palm of the hand turned towards the heart."

2 Cf. Eitel, p. 140b: "Abstract meditation, resulting in physical and mental coma and eventually in nirvana."

Toganoo, p. 478, notes that this idea of concentration, such as it is manifest in Buddhism and notably such as it is symbolized by the $j\bar{o}$ -in, comes from the practice of concentration, i.e., yoga (yugasammai).

3 A considerable number of interchangeable appellations are classified under the general heading of jō-in (Mochizuki, BD [1954], 3679b-c): sammai (-in) (transcription of the Sk. samādhi [mudrā] (BD 661c), cf. Eitel, p. 140a; zen (na) -in or zenna haramitsu; hokkai jō-in; nyū jō-in; baku jō-in; daiichi saishōsammai (no) -in (according to the Shugokyō, T. 997, XIX, 581c ff.); zenharamitsu bosatsu-in (according to the Senjuki, T. 1056, XX, 72a ff.); shakamuni daihachi-in, and nyoraihachi-in (according to the Daisho, T., 1796, XXXIX, 714a ff.), cited in Mochizuki, BD 1993a. Other designations are mentioned in the text. The word $j\bar{o}$ -in may be accepted as the generic term which designates any mudra of concentration.

Waddell (p. 337) writes "The Impartial or Meditative Pose"; Sirén (p. 134), "Sceau de la méditation."

4 The manner of crossing the legs may vary: if the left leg is crossed over the right, this is the attitude which should evoke the suppression of the demons, the episode which is associated with the meditation under the bodhi tree; the inverse indicates benediction. The same is the case for the position of the hands.

5 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 8, li. 3, Shōshinjitsukyō 2 (T. 868, XVIII, 276a, li.12): the gesture thus formed is called the hokkai jō-in (which signifies that Amida and Dainichi are identical). This denomination may in fact designate the jō-in of the three types.

6 Cf. Sirén, Pl. 16, 35.

7 Cf. a continental prototype. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pl. 157 (Taxila, V century).

8 Cf. the statue of Muni Suvrata (20th Tirthamkara of the Jains, Musée Guimet

5343.

9 Cf. Sirén, No. 615, Yuan dynasty: No. 264, 383.

10 Cf. Grousset, L'Inde (1949), fig. 66: Musée Guimet, No. 17, 483 (Angkor

Vat, XII century).

11 Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17, calls this gesture the hokkai jō-in (the two thumbs join). When the two thumbs rise and form the mystic triangle by joining, he calls this gesture yakkon-in, gesture of the medicine bowl (of Yakushi). The Ho., p. 243b, speaks in the article on byo of a "boîte à médicaments": the phial of Kannon (byo) "qui ne semble pas avoir la même destination" is mentioned. Cf. ZZ, Pl. 24.

12 Cf. Sirén, 43, 44.

13 Cf. ST, I, The Mysterious Five (kakemono); V. Kwanshin (Tôshōdai-ji, Nara); VI, Ashikaga Yoshimasa: Koizumi, 25.

14 Sickman, University Prints, 0-184, Lohan (T'ang).

15 Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17.

16 On the example of the Kanjizaioshugyoho (T. 932, XIX, 77b, li. 21ff.): ". . . the two hands lie [in the lap], the palms up, touching, the two indexes back to back and erect, the two thumbs touching the tips of the indexes" (Gonda and Ōmura, pp. 7-8).

17 See Miyano, Shingon mikkyō zuinshū, taizōkai (1), p. 3a, fig. 8. Ibid. (p. 2a, sect. "Taizōkai nenjushiki") notes that the hands are flat; the right rests on the left.

18 Getty (p. 168) states that in Japan the fingers are tightly locked, with the exception of the thumbs and the indexes, which touch at the ends, forming thus the so-called "triangular pose." Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17, calls this gesture the mida jō-in (Amida's concentration mudrā).

Cf. Asabashō 30: divers Amida in padmāsana and in jō-in. Here is seen the variant in which all the fingers follow the curve formed by the index.

- 19 China: cf. Sirén, IV, Pls. 597-598: Śākyamuni in meditation; Japan: Kamakura Daibutsu (ST, VI); Amida of the Honen-in, Kyoto (ST, I); see also ZZ, Pl. 72, 1232.
- 20 Soothill, p. 254b. Hence the name jogaishō-jō, "ecstatic concentration in which the Obstruction (of Passions) is eliminated" (Hō., p. 16a).

21 Cf. Yogātchārya (Eitel, p. 208b).

22 From dhyāna, spiritual contemplation exempt from all obstacles of the senses.

23 Cf. Soothill, s.v. jō (concentration), p. 254b.

- 24 Mus, p. 586: "This (dhyāna) mudrā was used to represent the Buddha in his meditation and under the tree."
- 25 Liberator of the serpents: this is the mystic gesture of Batō Kannon and emblematic of the lotus flower (Getty, p. 39).
- 26 The uttarabodhimudrā, the gesture of perfect enlightenment, is not usually considered to be a jō-in. This mudra is formed by crossing the fingers at the level of the breast, the palms down, the indexes raised and touching the thumbs at the ends. In Japan, the middle fingers may also be raised.

Cf. uttarabodhi in Gordon, The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, pp. 22, 23. In Tibet, Gordon notes this to be the mudra of the historical Buddha as Liberator of the Nagas and that of Nāmasangīti. Waddell, on the other hand, notes a different mudrā under this designation. In The Buddhism of Tibet, p. 337, he reports: "The best Perfection (Skt., Uttarabodhi). Index-finger and thumb of each hand are joined and held almost in contact with the breast at the level of the heart." This is obviously a kind of temborin-in, associated with Vairocana (Dainichi). See temborin-in, note 53.

27 Mus, p. 586.

28 IC, p. 569, ¶ 1169: "the yonimudrā, used in the pūjā in honor of Durgā, symbolizes the feminine organ: the fingers are brought together to circumscribe the figure with a triangle." Yoni (Renou, Dict., p. 594) = matrix, uterus; fig., place of birth, source, origin, homeland; race, caste.

In Japan the triangle symbolizes the flame, the third element, which destroys impurity.

- 29 Getty, p. 177, according to Beal. She adds: "When seated in dhyāna-mudrā the Buddha forms a perfect triangle resting on its base and it is believed by Buddhists to have been his attitude in the womb of his mother. In the Garbhadhatu mandala, the triangle rests on its base, and, according to the esoteric doctrine, is the form which is symbolical of material essence. The triangle with the point below is the symbol of the highest form of spirituality - the spiritual essence of Adi-Buddha." Cf. Soothill, p. 312b.
 - 30 Steinilber-Oberlin, The Buddhist Sects of Japan, p. 119.

31 Auboyer, "Moudrā," p. 156a.

32 Mochizuki, BD, 1993a and b; Si-do-in-dzou, p. 22.

- 33 ". . . the Wisdom-circle is an extent ideally equivalent to that of the whole Universe, and is gnosis realised as such. Now the meaning of a circle is with respect to its centre, which is a mathematical, and undimensioned point, not with respect to its actual extension in physical space" (Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 42).
- 34 Smidt, p. 114, writes: "The honzon of the Jodo sect is Hosshin Amida, who makes the jō-in composed of a wheel of the Law made by each hand by joining the thumb and the index to make a circular shape.

35 Cf. Daisho 13 (T. 1796, XXXIX, 714a ff.).

36 According to BD 1222c, s.v. jō-in: 1 Butsubu no jō-in; 2 Rengebu no jō-in; 3 Kongōbu no jō-in.

37 BD 1222c or jū jō-in of taizōkai Dainichi.

- 38 BD 1594c: cf. BBK, 447; the right hand rests on the left, the two thumbs slightly separated, the palms turned up. The joining of the thumbs, however, is typical of this mudrā when it belongs to the taizokai. According to the BBK, the thumbs of this type, when closed, represent the taizōkai, when slightly separated, the kongōkai. Cf. taizōkai Dainichi, Jikkanshō, I; the thumbs touch, the right hand rests on the left.
- 39 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 3, cites the Ryakushutsukyō (T., 866, XVIII, 223c ff.) and the Sonshöbucchöshuyugahögiki (T. 973, XIX, p. 368b ff.); see Mochizuki, BD (1954),

40 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 3; the figure shows this form of hokkai jō-in in which all 367b, for other texts. the fingers are flat. Cf. figs. 3 and 4 on p. 4.

- 41 Ri (Principle) = $taiz\bar{o}kai$ (BD 1813a). Cf. the discussion of this term by Bodde, "Chinese Philosophic Terms," p. 238. Chi (Knowledge) = kongōkai (BD 1787b). The Oneness of chi and ri = ri-chi fu-ni (BD 1813). Cf. BD 1339c.
 - 42 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 4, according to the Hizōki of Kōbō Daishi.

43 Form of Type C, cf. Hō, p. 29, fig. 14: "This is the Seal of the first of the 9 Amida of the 9 Classes. . . . Sometimes the indexes are not raised and the Seal has but one circle, closed by the thumbs, and not two."

Smidt, pp. 114ff., adds the hosshin Amida (honzon of the Jodo sect). Cf. fig., p. 7, Gonda and Ōmura, pp. 7, 8: according to the Kanjizaiōshugyōhō (T. 932, XIX, 77b, li. 21ff.): see

note 16 of this section.

In India, before the Gupta period, the iconography of this mudrā as a gesture of Amida had not yet been established and what is more, the connection between the Sukhāvatī and Amida was not absolute. ". . . in fact, we know of some texts in which Buddha is preaching in the Sukhāvatī instead of Amitābha: those who wanted to represent Buddha preaching in the Sukhāvatī must have, therefore, attributed to him the dharmacakramudrā rather than the samādhi-mudrā" (Tucci, "A propos d'Avalokiteśvara," p. 178).

44 Myōkanzacchi (Sk. pratyavekṣaṇājñāna), Hō., Suppl., p. II, first fasc. See Mochizuki, BD (1954), 379b, for this posture.

45 "From the point of view of Diversification" (Hō., p. 28a).

46 Hō., p. 28a.

47 BD 1727c, s.v. myōkanzacchi.

48 Ibid.

- 49 Cf. myōkan, Soothill, pp. 76-77. According to a verse from Nāgārjuna on the unreality of all phenomena, the result of the chain of cause and effect, the Middle School of the Tendai Sect proposes a meditation comprising three states. This is the theory of the San Dai or Three Dogmas (BD 645a-c).
 - 1 Kū (sūnya): everything, as a result of causality, is of an unreal nature: this is a state of transcendental universality; spatial; free from subjectivity; a synthesis of all Buddhist
 - 2 Ke ("fictive"): things of unreal essence are real by their fictive forms: temporal existence; imminence; all dharma are temporary; identity of the human mind and the
 - 3 Chū (the Middle Way): but both 1 and 2 are really one: this is the Way of synthesis; identity of the human mind with the universe stresses logic and a system with a systematic approach.

50 Cf. Hō., p. 29a.

- 51 Mochizuki BD (Pl. 17) uses for hokkai jō-in the name mida jō-in: cf. p. 177ff. Cf. Jikkanshō, I, (kongōkai) Muryōju in sammaji-in.
- 52 De Visser, ABJ, p. 340, under the heading of "Amidism in Japan in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.," tells the story of a priest by the name of Ryūkai, of the Hossō Sect, connected with the Gangōji. The priest died making the muryōju nyorai-in (cf. BD 1720c: this is the nyū jō-in of the Rengebu: Muryōju Nyorai = Amida) with his right hand: when his body was burned only the mudrā remained (according to the Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, ch. XX, p. 737).
- 53 Hō., p. 30a. For other gestures of the Amida of the 9 Classes, cf. an-i-in, supra. It may be noted that the Amida of the 9 Classes in the Ho., p. 28, fig. 13, make a different series of mudrā,

54 BD 1445a.

- 55 Cf. Shakamuni (Sirén, 16); Buddha (Sirén, 44); Dainichi (Koizumi, 25); Kamakura Daibutsu, Amitābha (ST, VI).
- 56 Cf. the Höryūji Monju (N.B. fingers are curved) of the Nara Museum collection, no. 140; and the Hokkai-ji (Yamashiro) Yakushi. The mudrā of Yakushi is traditionally

the semui-in, but the divinity carries here his medicine bowl placed on his hands joined in jō-in (probably a late form). This same form appears in a mandara of the XII century (Kokka, XXXII, 1). This mudrā may also be called the yakkon-in or the gesture of the medicine pot (cf. Kaneko, "Butsuzō no in," p. 2).

Cf. Getty, p. 7. This position of the hands serves as a support for the wheel of Dainichi Nyorai, who, as a divinity of the polar star (myoken), holds a wheel in his hands in dhyānamudrā (Getty, p. 33; Milloué, Petit catalogue illustré au Musée Guimet, p. 154). Moreover, the $j\bar{o}$ -in serves often as a support for a symbolic object: Dainichi, the wheel (cf. temborin-in); Yakushi, the medicine bowl; Shakamuni, the alms bowl (cf. Höhachi-in, according to the Jikkanshō, VII). Concerning the mystic Yakushi and his relation to the hokkai jō-in, see de Visser, ABJ, p. 565-66.

57 Cf. Kanshin, Toshodaiji, Nara (ST, V). Ashikaga Yoshimasa, Jishoji, Kyoto (ST, V; Yoshimasa became a priest under the name of Dotei in 1473). Cf. also the two Chinese Lohan (Sickman, Univ. Prints, 0-184, 0-202).

58 Cf. the X-century Vișnu in dhyānamudrā: Codrington, Ancient India, Pl. 73.

TEMBÖRIN-IN

Dharma (law) cakra (wheel). Coomaraswamy (EBI, p. 25) writes: "Wordwheel (and World-wheel) or Wheel of the Law or Norm." According to the Shingon sect, "Word-wheel" and "World-wheel" are closely connected (cf. ibid., p. 30). For cakri and cakra, cf. ibid., p. 27.

Other Sanskrit designations: vyākhyānamudrā, dharmacakrapravartanamudrā, samdaršanamudrā (?). Majumdar (The History of Bengal, p. 475) says that the dharmacakramudrā "is a combination of jāāna and vyākhyānamudrās, the left hand being in the former and the right in the latter poses."

Tib.: Tabdong shesrap, "the Union of Wisdom with Matter" (Getty, pp. 30, 168). Burgess ("Buddhist Mudras," p. 25a-b) writes that "this attitude typifies 'the unity of wisdom with matter,' . . . or the assuming of the material forms by the Buddha and Bodhisattva for the purpose of spreading the right understanding among animated beings." Waddell (p. 337) gives ch'as 'k'or-bskor; Burgess (p. 25) thabs-sches and thabs-dan-shes-rab.

2 Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, Part I, p. 881. Takata (Indo nankai no bukkyō bijutsu, p. 46) adds that the temborin-in is formed first by joining the two hands, later by one single hand: it is probably a question, in this instance, of the vitarkamudrā.

3 BBK, p. 72. Auboyer ("Un aspect du symbolisme de la souveraineté dans l'Inde," p. 90) writes: "As for the dharmacakramudrā, it does not seem to appear in the iconography of India before the Gupta period."

In India, Siva as Dakşinamurti makes the temborin-in which is named in this instance

"the mudrā of reasoning."

Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pl. 23: "Prasenajit post of the Southern Gate"; to the right center is one of the first examples of temborin-in with one hand: made by a "founder" - middle II cent. B.C.

4 BBK, p. 252: this variant exists as early as the time the gesture reached Japan: its use declined in the following centuries. The meaning of holding a corner of the kesa is not entirely clear; consult, however, n. 51 under the heading "Semui-in."

Cf. Gupta, Les Mains dans les fresques d'Ajanta, p. 15; Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. XXI; this same author writes in AGBG, pp. 328-29: "It is to be noted that in Gandhāra the right hand is always represented above, with the little finger usually grasped between the thumbs and the left index."

- 5 Cf. Hackin, Guide, Pl. IIIb, and Foucher, AGBG, figs. 405, 407, 426, 456, 459, 555, and 567.
 - 6 Cf. Hackin, Pl. XV; cf. a variant, Pl. XXIII; cf. Getty, Pl. XIV.
 - 7 Sirén, p. 134.
 - 8 Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17: BBK, p. 362: Hō., Pl. II and fig. 15 (p. 29a); Pl. IV, 2:
- Si-do-in-dzou, p. 9. 9 Getty, Pl. XV, a, b, and c. The variant (the fingers crossed and entwined: Pl. XI, fig. 4) is classified under the designation of temborin-in in the taizo inzu (I), in the Daizokyo zuzo, VIII, p. 183, fig. 11. Cf. Takata, Indo nankai no bukkyo bijutsu, p. 46.
- 10 Cf. BBK, pp. 505-6: the esoteric symbolism of this gesture is based on the Table which comprises Diag. I. See design in Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17.
- 11 "Dharmatchakra, lit. the wheel of the law. The emblem of Buddhism as a system of cycles of transmigration, the propagation of which is called Temborin, lit. turning the wheel of the law" (Eitel, p. 47b). Cf. BD, 1257a.

As for the wheel, it is probably a question of a chariot wheel. Cf. Coomaraswamy, "The Persian Wheel," 283.

- 12 Cf. Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. I, figs. 1, 2. See Toganoo, Pl. 37.
- 13 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 9. Williams (p. 392) writes: "and the turning of the wheel of the Law was probably connected with the Vedic sun-worshiping ceremonies in which a chariot wheel was fastened to a post and turned towards the right, i.e. following the path of the Universal Law which directed the sun in its orbit." Cf. P. E. Dumont, "The Indic God Aja Ekapād, the One-legged Goat," pp. 326ff.
- 14 Vairocana: from virocana, "who illumines, who lightens; masc., sun, sun god, Vișnu; moon" (Renou, Dict., p. 672b, s.v. virocana).
- 15 Dainichi Nyorai as god of the polar star holds a wheel in his hands, which are joined in dhyānamudrā (cf. Getty, p. 33). "Mio-ken, The Polar star, was a type of the eternal because apparently it never changed with time. It was the earliest type of supreme intelligence . . . which was unerring, fast and true . . . a point within a circle from which you could not err. . . . It was called the eye upon the mountain, the radiating centre of light surmounting the triangle" (Getty, p. 33 n. 1), quoting Churchward, The Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man.
- 16 Glasenapp, MB, p. 87: "Vairocana is then the Buddha solaris who dissolves the shadows of doubts."
- 17 Combaz, "L'Evolution du stūpa," IV, 110: wheel = sun, revolution of the year, creation of the Law, the Law, the Buddha (p. 111). For a bibliography of Indian works concerning the revolution of the year, cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp. 25ff.
 - 18 Ibid., p. 25.
 - 19 Ibid., Pl. I, figs. 2 and 3; ca. A.D. 200.
- 20 Aitareya Brāhmana, VIII, 2, cited by Coomaraswamy, p. 28. Cf. ibid. for the chariot of the sun conceived as a three-wheeled carriage (tricakra): cf. "Principial and Existential Wheels," p. 30.
 - Rg Veda, V, 29, 4; and X, 89, 4, cited in Coomaraswamy, p. 28.
- 22 Cakra-vartin: lit., the one who has, who possesses the rotation of the wheel. For the etymology of cakravartin, cf. Senart, Essai sur la légende du Bouddha, p. 7: "gifted with, possessor of the cakravāla—in other terms—"he who is limited only by the extreme limit of the world, who, in other terms, possesses it completely."

In Pāli, cakkavattī: (cf. Eitel, p. 172a). The wheel is one of the principal symbols of Visnu (as king of the universe) as well as of Siva.

The term cakravartin does not exist in the Veda, but one meets there the notion of a supreme Force, so that the idea of the universal king may hardly be considered as an innovation of Buddhism (cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 27).

The cakravartin, according to Eitel (p. 172), is the military conqueror of a part or of the totality of the universe. Great sovereigns took this title for themselves.

For the myth of the cakravartin, cf. Przyluski, "La Ville du cakravartin," Rocznik Orjentalistzczny.

- 23 Cf. Eitel, p. 171a: tchakra, Tib. khor lo. Cf. Soothill, p. 469b. For the Brahmanic wheel (bonrin) see Hō., p. 120a, b.
- 24 Glasenapp, MB, p. 103. The wheel, originally an arm of the sovereign of the world (cakra-vartin, "he who makes the wheel turn"), with which he subjects the whole world, is mentioned in the ancient Dīghanikāya (14, 1, 30) as being the first of the precious things (ratna) of the universal monarch.
- 25 BD 1259a, s.v. Tenrin-ō, li. 22. Cf. Foucaux, Histoire du Bouddha Sakya-Mouni, pp. 14-15: "La roue qui 'vient."
 - 26 BD 1257a gives two ideas for cakra: I that of revolution; 2 that of crushing.
 - 27 Auboyer, "Moudrā," p. 156b.
 - Williams, p. 392. 28
- 29 Combaz, "L'Evolution du stûpa," p. 110: "Buddhistically speaking, the Buddha by turning the wheel . . . recreated the Law of the world for a new kalpa. . . ."
- 30 Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 27. Bousquet (Prasna Up., VI, 6) translates: "Celui en qui les seize parties sont fixées, tels les rayons dans le moyeu du char, celui-là, je le connais comme étant l'Etre que l'on doit connaître."

In Pāli texts and later Sk. texts the "Person" is called cakkavattī (cakravartin).

- 31 Coomaraswamy, pp. 26-27.
- 32 Williams, p. 392.
- 33 Foucher, AGBG, fig. 475, 2-b (Săñchī and Amarāvatī).
- 34 Coomaraswamy, p. 33.
- 35 Foucher, p. 432; at Lahore, no. 134, the wheel stamps the front of the socle · · · : "we do not see particularly that the Master had yet adopted the gesture which would later become the characteristic mudrā of his predication."
- 36 Ho., p. 188a, s.v. Bussokuseki; cf. the figure (Yakushiji) on this same page. The wheel with 1,000 spokes appears on the famous engraved stone at Pāṭaliputra which Hsüantsang describes (Daitosaiikiki, T. 2087, LI, 867b ff.). Cf. Beal, Si-yu-ki, II [Bk. VIII], p. 90.
- The wheel with 64 spokes at Amarāvatī (Coomaraswamy, EBI, Pl. I, figs. 2, 3). Cf. the wheel of life which figures in Przyluski, "La Roue de la vie à Ajantâ," Pl. 319. The Ajanțā wheel had eight divisions (hence spokes). Cf. Waddell, "The Buddhist Pictorial Wheel of Life," p. 134.

According to Hsüan-tsang, the diamond throne of the Buddha reposes on the felly of a 1,000-spoked wheel (Getty, p. 166).

- 38 Auboyer, "Moudrā," p. 156b.
- 39 Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, Pl. VI, fig. 25. 40 Cf. the sudarsanacakra (Musée Guimet): Revue des Arts Asiatiques, V (1928), Pl.
- XVIII, fig. 1.
 - 41 Fragments remain at Säñchl and at Mathurā.

42 Getty (p. 167, s.v. cakra) writes that in the middle of the calyx is found a Nepalese Yin-Yang.

The Type C form of $j\bar{o}$ -in is actually composed of two wheels of the Law, constituted by the junction of the thumb and the index of each hand. This is the mudra of hosshin Amida, honzon of the Jodo sect (after Smidt, pp. 114ff.).

The iconographic representations of Gandhāra, are used indeterminately. The tembōrin-in is not the only mudrā there to express the crucial moment of the Buddhist legend.

45 There is confusion here with the seppō-an-i-in. The seppō-in designates simply the hand which forms the mystic circle. It is nevertheless evident that this denomination is applied also to the tembōrin-in which is actually two seppō-in juxtaposed.

46 Auboyer, "Moudrã," p. 156.

47 Cf. also the tembōrin-in in China: Sirén, III, Pl. 442. According to the Jishi-bosatsuhō (T. 1141, XX, 595c, li. 9ff.): "In the middle is placed the bodhisattva Jishi as the central divinity. On his head he wears the crown of the five tathāgata. In his left hand he holds a lotus in which is placed an essence-world stūpa (hokkai tō-in). With his right hand he forms the seppō-in, and he is seated in the full lotus posture (kekka fuza).

48 That is to say, the Shingon sect (Hō., p. 29a).

49 Cf. the famous Hōryūji mural (Hō., Pl. II, as well as Pl. IVb). Mochizuki, BD, p. 177b (li. 27) speaks of the Taemandara no honzon in seppō-in (Jōdo sect), (BD 115c). Sirén, p. 138, writes that, in China, "the bhūmisparśa and the dharmacakra mudrā are never present, that we know of, in the statues of Amitābha." This is universally true.

50 Soothill, p. 56b, s.v. jōguhonrai: "Above to seek bodhi, below to save all."

- 51 Smidt, pp. 114ff. This is symbolism proper to the Shin sect (p. 117) whose hosshin Amida occupies the position of honzon. The author calls this gesture temporin-so or septon-no-so.
- 52 Ibid., gekeshujō, "den göttlichen Gewinn, den die Erdgeborenen von der Wandlung des Butsu haben."
- 53 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 9: here the tembōrin-in figures under the heading of taizōkai. Hō. (p. 148b) mentions the Five Bucchō, of which Sitātapatra is one, as being the "Kings turning the Wheel."
- of the Five dhyāni-Buddhas, born of the action of the Five Knowledges (jñāna) and the Five Concentrations [dhyāna]) does not exist in Japan. For the Amidist sects, Amida is the original Buddha (ichibutsu); for the Hossō, Tendai, Kegon, and Shingon sects, the supreme Buddha is Dainichi (Vairocana). These two supreme Buddhas are not supposed to have "created" the four other dhyāni-Buddhas. The dhyāni-Buddhas are but manifestations of the supreme Buddha, either Amida or Dainichi. According to Tantric Buddhism, the dhyāni-Buddhas would derive from the Five Elements which, in principle, are eternal; these Elements constitute the Being when they are fused together by action (Bhattacharyya, Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, p. 129).
- 55 Ōjin = Transformation Body (nirmāṇakāya): ōjin-seppō-in, the mudrā of the explanation of the Law of the Transformation Body. Nirmāṇakāya, one of the three bodies, may vary in meaning: a) an incarnation of the Buddha (kesshin, metamorphosis body); b) the Buddha as Reality; and c) sometimes the Enjoyment Body (hōjin, juyōshin, Sk. sambhogakāya) or the body which is given to him for his own use and enjoyment. Thus this gesture is called the hōkenishinseppō-in, mudrā of the explanation of the Law of the Two Bodies (that of Enjoyment and that of Transformation).
 - 56 Cf. Gonda and Ōmura, p. 10, fig. 16: Shaka Nyorai.

- 57 Ibid., p. 14.
- "One's own assurance of the truth" (Soothill, p. 131b).
- "External manifestation, function or use" (Soothill, p. 184a). Cf. fig. 16 in Gonda and Ōmura,

CHI KEN-IN

- 1 The gesture of the right hand in this mudrā is called kenrō kongō ken-in, adamatine diamond fist or simply, kongō ken-in, diamond fist. The Sanskrit designation would derive from the use of this mudrā in the vajradhātu (kongōkai) mandala. Getty (p. 30) calls this gesture the mudrā of the Six Elements (Pl. II, fig. a; LXII, fig. d).
 - 2 Cf. n. 1 under "an-i-in."
- 3 Takata (Indo nankai no bukkyō bijutsu, p. 47) gives this Sanskrit reconstruction for the chi ken-in. For bodha- read better bodhi-.
 - 4 Pl. XIII. For different forms, cf. Getty, Pl. II, fig. a and Pl. LXII, fig. d.

Names also used are rokudai-in, the mudra of the Six Elements (Getty, p. 33; and Elisséeff, Mythologie asiatique, p. 406, gives this same designation); kakusho-in, mudrā of the victory of Enlightenment (peculiar to Dainichi Kinrin; BD 185b); nyorai ken-in (according to the BD 1357a and the Kaji kitō oku-den by Ono Kiyohide, fig. following p. 5).

5 The Kongōchōrengebushinnenjugiki (cited by Gonda and Ōmura, p. 2: T. 874, XVIII, 313a, li. 4-5 [?]), under the heading "Act Seals" (komma-in), calls the kongō ken, the mudrā of the entrance into Knowledge (nyūchi).

Cf. the two kongō ken-in (Si-do-in-dzou, p. 118): the right hand, World of the Buddhas, represents "the spirits of all living beings in whom the Buddha Intelligence exists in a perfect state; the left hand, Material World, moves the bell (which may be present only in thought) in order to disperse the illusions and the errors of (sentient) beings."

- 6 According to the Kongōchōrengebushinnenjugiki, the text indicates that the right hand in kongo ken held the extremity of the left index, the left hand reposing in the lap (Gonda and Ōmura, p. 2). Cf. Glasenapp, MB, Pl. I, Vairocana, XII century.
 - 7 Cf. Mikkyō daijiten, II, 690, s.v. kongōshi.
 - 8 Statues exist in which the index penetrates almost entirely into the right fist.
 - 8a Mochizuki, BD (1954), 3571a (both quotations).
- 9 Incantation (Sanseido Dictionary); bénédiction (Hô.); consécration (S. Lévi, Tajima). The kaji are the means (dhāranī, mantra) by which one may be identified with the Buddha; Sk. adhisthāna. According to Soothill (p. 167b), kaji is defined as "dependence on the Buddha, who confers his strength on all (who seek it), and upholds them; hence it implies prayer, because of obtaining the Buddha's power and transferring it to others."
- 10 Shōshinjitsukyō (T. 868, XVIII, 275c, li. 2-16). Gonda and Ōmura cites this
- text on p. 2, li. 8ff. Also see Mochizuki, BD (1954), 3571a.
 - 11 Getty, p. 168 s.v. dharmacakramudrā; BBK, p. 507.
 - 12 Foucher, AGBG, fig. 555.

 - 13 Cf. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pl. 153: the Buddha of Sahri-Bahlol. 14 BD 1357a. Gonda and Ōmura (p. 41, fig. 121) shows Daijō Kongō making the
- chi ken-in; he is seated on a lotus and bears various attributes in the hands.

 - 15 Ādi. Cf. svayambhū (Eitel, p. 168a). 16 Vairocana of the taizokai makes the jō-in (dhyānamudrā). Cf. Gonda and Ōmura,
- P. 3, Sonshöbucchöshuyugahögiki (T. 973, XIX, 376a, li. 1-3 [?]).
 - 17 Hokkegisho 12 ((T. 1721, XXXIX, 621ff.). Tr. by Kichizo (Chi-ts'ang), Sanron

sect, born at Nanking in 549 of a family of Parthian origin (cf. Hō., fasc. an., p. 142b, s.v. Kichizō).

Getty (p. 32) writes: "earth, little: water, ring: fire, middle: air, index: ether, thumb." The fingers represent also the Five Aggregates, the Bodhisattvas, the Roots.

- 19 Eitel, p. 198: also used are rokunyū, the Six Entrances (sadāyatana; cf. Soothill, 132b); rokuroku, the Six guṇa (p. 39b): 1 cakṣuḥ, eye, view; 2 śrotra, ear, hearing; 3 ghrāṇa, nose, smelling; 4 jihvā, tongue, tasting; 5 kāya, body, touching; 6 manas, mental.
- 20 Getty, p. 30. Cf. Elisséeff, "Mythologie du Japon," p. 406: "the index of the left hand represents the intellectual element (chi)." IC, p. 426, § 851: "There is also . . . a theory of sexual union in the form of a flame which penetrates the body of the woman."
- 21 Getty, p. 30: "The six fingers represent the Six Elements which, when united, produce the sixfold bodily and mental happiness." Cf. also Elisséeff, p. 424.

22 Manas (Eitel, p. 93b).

23 The index represents the first of the gochi nyorai (the five dhyāni-Buddhas), products of the Knowledge of the Adi-Buddha.

24 Anezaki, Buddhist Art, pp. 34, 35.

25 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 3, li. 7): "this represents the nonduality (of body) of the ri and the chi (which are two).'

Cf. Soothill, p. 360a-b, for the explanation of the term ri-chi. This phrase also signifies (Gonda and Ōmura, p. 4, li. 1) "interior attestation, absolute perfection." Cf. Soothill, pp. 219b, 397b.

26 BD 1194c, according to the Ichijichörinnökyö (T. 955, XIX, 313b-315c): "The fist may contain the Knowledge of the Law of all the Buddhas."

27 Cf. BD 1187c. For the kongōkai, besides the Knowledge of Dainichi (hokkaitaishōchi, dharmadhātujñāna), Knowledge of the absolute in which the opposition between subject and object ceases (Glasenapp) and which is expressed by the chi ken-in, there exists the group of gestures called shi-in ("four mudra") which symbolize the Four Knowledges. (Cf. the Five Knowledges, Glasenapp, MB, p. 85). The Four Knowledges are:

1 Daienkyōchi, the Mirror Knowledge (Sk. ādarša-jñāna) pertaining to Ashuku (Akṣobhya): BD 18c. The Knowledge of the round mirror reflects all the Knowable.

2 Byōdōshōchi, the Knowledge of the identical nature of the essences (Sk. samatājñāna), pertaining to Höshö (Ratnasambhava). This is one of the Four Knowledges of the Bodhisattvas who, having passed the stage of seeing-self, the seventh Knowledge of ordinary Beings, attain the chi-e, Wisdom, the point at which is put into execution the principle known as jitabyodo-no-chi, the principle of equality (oneness) between the self and others: BD 1493b. In Sk. samatājñāna, the Knowledge of the quality of all beings in the fundamental unity (Glasenapp).

3 Myōkanzacchi, the Knowledge of perspicacity (Sk. pratyavekṣaṇajñāna), pertaining to Amida (BD 1720c), the Knowledge which understands all details, confusing nothing.

4 Seijosakuchi, Knowledge which produces acts (i.e., which perfects acts), (Sk. kṛtyānusthānajñāna), pertaining to Fukūjōju (Amoghasiddhi). (BD 1511 and 1512, fig.). It is the Knowledge of what must be done to accelerate the salvation of all Beings (Glase-

De Visser (ABJ, p. 242, concerning the text of a gammon, votive document), cites the Four Chi-in:

- 1 Daichi-in (mahā-jñāna-mudrā)
- 2 Sammaya-in (samaya-jñāna-mudrā)
- 3 Höchi-in (dharma-jñāna-mudrā)
- 4 Kommachi-in (karma-jñāna-mudrā).

According to the Jñānasiddhi, based on Bhattacharyya, Two Vajrayāna Works, p. xix: Vajrayāna signifies the Knowledge of Vajra which in turn is equivalent to:

- The Knowledge of Adarsa: on the imitation of the reflexion seen on a mirror, in the same way the dharmakaya is traced on the mirror of Cognition.
- 2 The Knowledge of Sama: this is the cognition of the Tathagatas which stresses the Equality that exists between them and Beings.
- 3 The Knowledge of Pratyaveksana: this knowledge is originally pure, without beginning, naturally shining; it fills the universe.
- 4 The Knowledge of Krtyānuṣṭhāna: the "duties" of the Buddhas should be executed everywhere and always; these "duties" are incumbent on all Buddhas.
- 5 The Knowledge of Suvisuddha: by means of this knowledge, the ascete frees himself from the obstacles of the passions (kleśa) and of the Knowable (jñeya), which impede the attaining of nirvana.
- 28 "It is probable that the irruption of śākta ideas in Tantrism, an irruption of which the first documents, at least in the domain of Buddhism, are still untouched, took place at a period when Tantrism was already completely formed" (IC, p. 424). (N.B. "The problematical presence of a sakti at Mohenjo-Daro" (IC, p. 425).
 - 29 Conze, Buddhism, p. 178.
- 30 Glasenapp, MB, p. 37: "She endeavors to interpret everything in a superior, spiritual way."
 - 31 Conze, p. 194.
 - 32 Maraini, Secret Tibet, p. 91.
 - 33 Renou, IC, § 2363.
 - 34 Ibid. For sexual practices in Tantrism, see Eliade, Yoga, pp. 162-273.

KANJŌ-IN

- 1 Cf. Eitel, p. 3b, Abhishekair. Cf. goshu-kanjō, the Five Kinds of Kanjō: Soothill, p. 125a; cf. also the Mūrdhābhişikta abhişecana.
- 2 This mudrā is not mentioned in the BD. Cf. Akiyama, Buddhist Hand-Symbol, p. 26.
- 3 Cf. the likeness of this hand pose with that of the mudrā of Aizen Myō-ō (Rāgavidyārāja) in $H\bar{o}$., p. 16b. Compare also with the so-called uttarabodhi gesture in Gordon, Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, pp. 22 and 23, and Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 387. See jö-in, n. 26.
- 4 BD 247a. Cf. the description of attributes and mudrā used in the kanjō rite as set forth in the Asabashō. Cf. also Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, p. 328. Glasenapp, MB, ch. entitled "Les Rites Abhisheka," pp. 115-26, gives the details on a Tantric abhiseka in Japan.
- 6 Toganoo, MK, p. 472, li. 1; the Murimandarajukyō (T. 1007, XIX, 657c ff.) notes that the priest is supposed to imitate the gesture of the Buddha accomplishing acts, such as turning the wheel of the Law, giving the mani-kanjō, showing his Compassion, etc.
- 7 Eliot (p. 328) cites this passage from Ch. LIX of the Hizōki of Kobo Daishi. According to some, the kanjō ceremony was introduced to Japan by Saichō. For details concerning the kanjō, its historical development and practice, see Coates and Ishizuka, Hōnen, 8 Glasenapp (MB, p. 115) cites F.W. Thomas, "Abhisheka," in Hastings, Encyclothe Buddhist Saint, pp. 172-76.
- Toganoo (MK, p. 472, li. 6-7) mentions Bhagavat Purāņa and the Rājataranginī. paedia of Religion and Ethics, I, 20-24.

NOTES: KANJŌ-IN/ONGYŌ-IN

- 9 The Nirvānakālika of Pādalipta, ritualistic text of the Jaïna, "promises a son to him who has none, to a dethroned king his restoration" (Glasenapp, MB, p. 115).
- 10 The Agnipurāņa, ch. 90: "A master confers a Shivaite abhiseka on his pupil in order to dispense to him happiness" (Glasenapp, MB, p. 115).
 - 11 Glasenapp, MB, p. 118.
- 12 Ibid., p. 116, for texts. 13 The first information about the rite with relation to Buddhism is Shrimitra
- (Eitel, p. 158b), who explained the object of the abhiseka in the translation which he made of the Mahābhişekamantrasūtra (Kanjōkyō, T. 1331, XXI, 495a ff.) - Glasenapp, MB, p. 116. 14 Hō., p. 195b: The unction ceremony of the Five Buddhas (gobutsu-kanjō immyō):
- "This ceremony consists of a quintuple Unction applied, with the Seals, to different places on the head of the adept, places respectively consecrated to each one of the Five Buddhas of the Diamond World: this rite aims at initiating him to the Five Knowledges which are connected with them (cf. Himitsu jirin, 334)." Cf. IC, p. 569, § 1168, "les nyāsa."
 - 15 Glasenapp, MB, pp. 116-17.
- 16 Abhişeka of Śri Lakṣmi, North Torana, Sāñchi, I century B.C. (Coomaraswamy, EBI, Pl. VI, fig. 23).

BUPPATSU-IN

- 1 Cf. Ho., p. 171b. Also called hachi-in (BD 1399a): hanjikikuyö-in (BD 154c): chijin-in (Sk. prthivimudrā); butsubusammaya-in.
- 2 BD 1399a. According to the Dainichikyō (Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, Vol. L, 117). See also BD 1564b and Daisho (T. 1796, XXXIX, 716a).
 - s BD 1399a.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 Kokuyaku Daizōkyō (Dainichikyō, mitsu-in-bon), Vol. L, 117.
 - 6 As if to hold a bowl. Cf. the hōhachi-in under jō-in, n. 56.
- 7 Ho., p. 171; the formula which corresponds to this gesture is namah samantabuddhānām bhah.
 - 8 Jikkanshö, VII, höhachi-in; cf. BD 1564b.

BASARA-UN-KONGŌ-IN

1 BD 1445c. Second of the five principal gods of the jimyō-in of the taizōkai maņdala. In Japanese, Ba-sa-ra-un (taizōkai) or Bazara-un-kongō (kongōkai); also known as Shōsanze-kongō. According to the Hizōki, several symbolic objects are attributed to this divinity: left hand-lance, bow, rope; right hand-vajra with three points, sword.

Vajrasattva: "This latter, considered in Japan as the dhyāni-Bodhisattva of Ashuku, is placed with the highest Buddhas by Indian Buddhism which makes of him a sixth dhyāni-Buddha, the head of this group, and confuses him often with the Adi-Buddha, whom he replaces, moreover, in Tibet" (Si-do-in-dzou, p. xiii).

Getty (p. 181) calls this mudrā the gesture of the supreme and eternal Buddha, the wrists crossed at the breast indicating intensity.

- 2 Cf. Getty, Pl. IIb (Tibet) Vajradhara.
- 3 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 118; the diamond fist symbolizes the fundamental vow of Kongōsatta (Vajrasattva).
 - 4 Cf. Eitel, p. 177b: Trailokya, the Three Worlds = earth $(bh\bar{u}r)$, sky (bhuva),

and atmosphere (svar). Trailokya symbolizes also the three sorts of Beings. And p. 197b: Vijaya = victorious one. Gozanze appears as a Bodhisattva in the Lotus of the Good Law under the name of Trailokyavijaya, Victor of the Three Worlds (Si-do-in-dzou, p. xiv). The Three Worlds of Buddhism are: yoku, world of desire; shiki, world of form; mushiki, world without form (cf. Soothill, p. 70b, s.v. sankai (three worlds).

5 Cf. Koizumi, no. 26.

MUSHOFUSHI-IN

Mochizuki, BD, Pl. 17; see also 1954 edn., 4836c-37b. Cf. mushofushi-in, as it is classified in the $H\bar{o}$., p. 29a: cf. also Pl. IV, 1, of the $H\bar{o}$. This name means literally: the mudrā [symbolizing that] there is no place [where the Three Mysteries] do not reach.

2 Cf. the "Sceau de la conque," Si-do-in-dzou, p. 38.

Smidt, p. 115: "Die sechs Ursubstanzen." Usually there are but Five Elements: earth, water, fire, wind (air), void, to which, however, may be added "mental," thus making Six Elements. Cf. Soothill, p. 134a, s.v. rokudai.

4 The Four Kinds of Mandala, according to the BD (1670a) are:

- 1 Dai mandara: the statues of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Here dai refers to the Five Elements.
- 2 Sammaya mandara: attributes and in representing the original vows.

3 Hō mandara: shuji (bīja or germ syllables) and dhāraṇī (shingon).

4 Komma mandara: the acts of the Buddha. Cf. the classification in Diag. II.

5 Smidt, p. 115.

6 Ritō is a symbol of (taizōkai) Dainichi. Ri denotes the taizōkai and chi denotes the kongōkai. Cf. also the kūrin in the Taizō inzu (Daizōkyō zuzō, VIII, 186, fig. 32).

ONGYŌ-IN

1 BD 154a, li. 11: transcription of the Sk. = an-ta-so-na-in (?).

2 Marishidaibakemangyō (T. 1254, XXI, 256b).

- 3 BD 154a. Other sutras giving this gesture are: Marishidaibakemangyo (T. 1254), Ichijichorinnoyugakangyogiki (T. 955), Marishibosatsuryakunenjuho (T. 1258), Marishitendaranijukyō (T. 1256), etc. See Mochizuki, BD (1954), 361b.
 - 4 Eitel, p. 97b. Cf. Elisséeff, "Mythologie du Japan," p. 419.

- 6 Ibid. Eitel (p. 97b) says that in China this divinity is also called the mother of the Dipper. It is the Taoist belief that she resides with her husband in Sagittarius. In Brahmanism the divinity is a "vindictive form of Durgā or of Pārvatī" (p. 75a). Cf. Soothill, p. 405a, s.v. Chandī. Marīcī is the principal emanation of Dainichi (Vairocana). The Marishitendaranijukyō (T. 1256, XXI, 261b-262a) mentions her worship by offerings; hence interest in this divinity must date from the VI century in China, the Chinese translation of this sūtra having occurred between 502 and 557.
- 7 Cf. Eitel, p. 74b, s.v. Maritchi: "In Brahmanic mythology the personification of light, off-spring of Brahmā, parent of Sūrya." In China, this god is represented as a feminine divinity having eight arms, two of which hold symbols of the sun and the moon. The Taoists call her Queen of the Sky. Soothill, p. 435a: "A goddess, independent and sovereign, protectress against all violence and peril."

NOTES: GEBAKU KEN-IN/POSTURES AND THRONES

- 8 Mochizuki, BD (1954), 36a (Marishitengyō, T. 1255, p. 260b, li. 5-20).
- 9 Ibid.; cf. image in BD 1665a (T. 1255, 261a, li. 21-29). Marishiten herself appears holding a palm-leaf fan in her left hand while she makes the segan-in with her right.

GEBAKU KEN-IN

1 BD 439b. One of the Four ken-in (cf. Intro., supra). See also Mochizuki, BD (1954), 1833b-c.

Names also used: kengobaku, the inflexible bonds; kongōbaku, the adamantine bonds. $Baku = Sk. \ bandha(na)$, "bonds." This is, according to the $H\bar{o}$., p. 48b, the name given to the Passions and especially to the three fundamental passions: attraction, hate, and error, because they obstruct liberation (cf. the same reference for other definitions according to different schools).

The Four Bonds are: attraction, hate, excessive adhesion to the disciplinary rules, selfseeing (Hō., p. 122b). In the Sāmkhyakārikā (Kinshichijūron, T. 2137, N. 1300), the baku are the bonds which attach the Male (puruşa) to Matter (prakrti).

- 2 BD 439b: $da\$abh\bar{u}mi$ = the 10 stages of the 52 sections of the evolution of a Bodhisattva into Buddha. For the enumeration of the Six Stages, cf. Soothill, p. 47b: Eliot (Japanese Buddhism, pp. 341-43) gives the Ten Stages according to the $J\bar{u}j\bar{u}shinron$ by Kōbō Daishi.
 - s Si-do-in-dzou, p. 17.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 Ibid., p. 103: $yoku = desire(k\bar{a}ma)$, élan.
 - 6 Ibid.
- 7 Cf. the portrait of Gembō by Kōkei in Grousset, Japon, fig. 38; ST, IX. Also the famous portrait of Fukū (Amoghavajra) of the Kyōōgoku-ji (Tōji), Kyoto (ST, VII).

POSTURES AND THRONES

- 1 Asana is an ambiguous word: 1) little support for the feet or the foot, seat, socle, or pedestal (pītha: Rao, p. 17); 2) pose of the legs in the seated attitude of certain divinities; "a particular mystic position of the lower limbs" - Bhattacharyya, IBI, p. 190. Cf. the 32 āsana mentioned by Bose, Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra, pp. 56-57. Renou, p. 128: "the act of seating oneself or of being seated; way of sitting; camping; situation, place.
 - 1a Eliade, Yoga, p. 54. For āsana in Indian literature, see his Note, p. 382.
 - 2 Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp. 39-59, "The Place of the Lotus Throne."
 - 3 Cf. Warner, Pl. 145, and Appendix B, p. 65, for the types of pedestals.
- 4 For example, cf. Hō., Pls. II, 1 and VII, 1. The Buddha is represented in padmāsana almost since the beginning of anthropomorphic iconography-from the Andra period (Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 48).
 - 5 Cf. Hō., Pl. IV, 1 and 2.
- 6 Cf. Hackin, Guide, Pl. XV (Tibet); Getty writes that Maitreya as Buddha has no support for the two feet, but as Bodhisattva each foot is upheld by a lotus flower.
- 7 Getty, p. 164; Sirén, p. 133. Rao (p. 17) writes that in India, the padmāsana was of circular or oval form, never rectangular. The same is true in Japan; cf. the octagonal throne, ZZ, Pl. 102.
 - 7a Cf. Mochizuki, BD (1954), 898c.
 - 8 Kekka fuza (BD, 297c-298a). According to de Visser (ABJ, p. 168, n. 1): "This

is sitting like a Buddha . . . with the soles of the feet apparent": cf. Daijii, I, p. 1041; and Eitel, p. 117a, s.v. kafu-za. According to some authorities, the left leg reposing on the right signifies the subjugation of the demons (cf. sokuchi-in): the inverse signifies the benediction or pure meditation. According to the $Butsuz\bar{o}-ikonoguraf\bar{i}$ (p. 54) the first posture is called $k\bar{o}ma-za$ and is characteristic of Amida; the second is called *richizō-za* and is characteristic of Dainichi Nyorai.

Bose (Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra, p. 57) describes the padmāsana (after the Gheranda Samhita): "Place the right foot on the left thigh and similarly the left one on the right thigh, cross the hands behind the back and firmly catch hold of the great toes of the feet as crossed. Place the chin on the chest and fix the gaze on the tip of the nose." He adds that for painted images, only the first condition is fulfilled.

The denomination zenkaza is also used: legs completely crossed, to distinguish the kekka fuza from the hankaza, legs half crossed.

- 9 Stern, "Art de l'Inde," p. 131: "but from the VI century on (the post-Gupta period, VI-VII centuries), one sees statues seated in the European manner after the royal attitude of Sassanid and Kushāna kings," a position (that is, with the ankles crossed) which existed in China as early as the Wei dynasty.
- 10 BD 483b, kongō-za. Williams (pp. 195-96): "adamantine, unchangeable, or fixed pose (Vajra palana).'

Cf. the discussion of this subject in Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp. 43ff. This term does not exist in Pāli texts, but it may frequently be found in Mahāyānist sūtras.

Bose (p. 58) cites this description of the vajrāsana: "make the thighs light like adamant and place the legs by the two sides." Cf. Tucci, Teoria e pratica del mandala, p. 26.

- 11 Or a swastika (Getty, p. 176). The swastika is connected with the esoteric doctrine; some sects adopted it as a special symbol.
 - 12 Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, fig. G, p. 43.
- 13 Mallmann (Intro., p. 255) notes correctly that the padmāsana indicates the throne which serves for all divinities and by this fact is inappropriate as a name for this attitude. Getty (p. 41) writes "adamantine pose, soles of the feet apparent." Cf. de Visser, ABJ, p. 168, n. 1, "The Diamond pose" (kekka fuza).
 - 14 Anguttara Nikāya, I, 124, cited in Coomaraswamy, p. 45.
 - 15 Coomaraswamy, p. 50.
 - 15a Soothill, p. 386b.
 - 16 Ibid., p. 52. Hsüan-tsang speaks of this throne; cf. Beal, Si-yu-ki, p. 114.
- Mallmann, p. 255. As early as post-Gupta art of Ellora, this pose is attributed to Mañjuśrī and to Avalokiteśvara. Cf. Mallmann, fig. 2, p. 182: Sarnath; Pl. 14a: Padmapāņi.
- BD, 1432c-33a. This posture may also be called hanza or kenza, according to Hisano Ken, "Butsuzō no shurui to gyōsō," p. 3a. Cf. Daijiten, p. 387, s.v. kekka fuza. According to de Visser, ABJ, p. 168, "half-crossed-legged-sitting," is the same with the right foot, but the left is placed under the right knee (cf. Daijiten). Kongōkekka (BD 479c) is the same as hanka-za, according to the Shugokokkyo 2 (quoted in BD 479c).
 - Rikishi-za (?) (Rikishi, BD 1783c: Rikisha, BD 1784a).

Vīra = strong man, hero (Eitel, p. 203b). Bose, p. 58, describes the vīrāsana thus: "one leg (the right foot) to be placed on the other (left) thigh, and the other foot to be turned backwards." This position is to be replaced by the sukhāsana (happy posture). Cf. Grousset, L'Inde (1949), Pl. I, fig. 2.

20 According to Sirén, p. 133. This posture is like the sattvāsana of Getty (p. 165)

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or the satvapalana of Williams (p. 196). In this latter attitude, the legs are locked in vajra paryanka, the soles of the feet scarcely visible. This would be, according to Williams and Waddell, the one which symbolizes the end of the Buddha's meditation. Cf. Mochizuki, BD (1954), 4247c. According to Sirén, the left sole is up. Mallmann (Intro., p. 258) speaks of the paryanka, in which the legs are crossed but the soles hidden, and Williams of the niyamapalana ("sub-active pose") in which the two soles are hidden.

20a Mochizuki, BD (1954), 4248a.

21 BD 1433c.

- 23 Yogāsana: Paryanka Bandhana (Eitel, p. 117a). Bose (p. 58) describes the yogāsana (according to the Gheranda Samhitā) thus: "Turn the feet upwards, place them on the knees: then place the hands on the asana with the palms turned upwards; inspire, and fix the gaze on the tip of the nose." This position is also called dhyānāsana.
- 24 For information relative to this manner of sitting, cf. Bapat, "Pallatthika," p. 47: "Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary explains the word paryastikā as 'sitting upon the hams' or as an equivalent of Paryanka which is explained as a piece of cloth girt round the back, loins, and knees while sitting on one's knees. Closely associated with this is the yogapatta which Apte explains as a cloth thrown over the back and knees of an ascetic during abstract meditation."

Cf. Waddell, p. 145, for the attitude of meditation of the Lamas in Tibet.

25 Cf. Eitel, p. 208a, Yoga; pp. 208f., Yogātchārya.

26 Ibid., p. 209a.

27 Siddhi (Eitel, p. 152). For the eight powers which constitute the Siddhi, cf. p. 209a. Cf. also Bhattacharyya, An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, p. 83: "1) atomisation, 2) levitation, 3) magnification, 4) extension, 5) efficacy, 6) sovereignty, 7) mastery (over elements), 8) capacity to will actual facts." For the 34 Siddhi, cf. p. 84.

27a Eliade, Yoga, pp. 54-55.

- 28 Or sukhāsana (Sirén, p. 133). Waddell (p. 336) calls this attitude "Enchanter's Pose," but there seems to be a certain confusion about this designation which is placed here under the heading mahārājalīlāsana. Getty (p. 165) calls this pose rājalīla.
- Bose (p. 58) writes that usually the sukhāsana replaces the vīrāsana. Sukhāsana: "left foot is placed on the right thigh and the other foot is stretched downwards." This position is also known by the designation ardha-paryanka. Cf. Grousset, L'Inde (1949), Pl. II, fig. 3.
- 29 Mallmann, Intro., p. 254; at Ellorā, this attitude devolves on Manjuśri and Avalokiteśvara. For Pāla-Sena Art, cf. Pls. XIVc and XI; for Lokanātha, Pl. VIIId.
- 30 This pose is seen in China as early as the Wei (cf. Sirén, Pl. 33), but it was later to become a characteristic posture of the Bodhisattvas.
- 31 Or lalita (Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 67, n. 5), rājalīlā (Getty); Grousset, L'Inde (1949), Pl. II, fig. 4.
- 32 Sometimes Monju is represented with the right leg folded and the left knee raised. This posture is called vāmārdhaparyanka.
- 33 Mallmann (p. 254): "Among Avalokitesvaras, this attitude is reserved for Simhanāda and for certain Simhāsana-Lokeśvaras."
- 84 Waddell, Foucher, Mallmann. For them, on the contrary, the left leg hangs down. Others call this the lalitāsana "enchanter's pose" (Getty, Williams).
 - 55 Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 67, n. 5.
 - 36 Mallmann, Pls. XIIa, b, d.

- 37 Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 67, n. 5. Texts according to Bendall and Rouse (trs.), Śikshāsamuccaya, p. 125.
- 38 "Attitude à l'européenne" (Mallmann); pralambapādāsana (Coomaraswamy); cf. the discussion relative to the Sanskrit term used to designate this attitude in Mallmann, pp. 256-57.
 - 39 Cf. Hackin, Pl. XV.
- 40 Mallmann, Intro., p. 257: "we know . . . in India only one image of Avalokiteśvara represented thus: it is the one which figures as the principal god at Ellora IV."

Auboyer, "Un Aspect du symbolisme de la souveraineté," pp. 89-90, notes: "the socalled European pose is not reserved for Maitreya . . . it is seen in the representations of Avalokiteśvara (Ellorā, Buddhist Cave, II)."

- Ibid., p. 90.
- 42 Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. IV.
- 43 Auboyer, p. 90.
- 44 Ibid., Pl. XXXIXb: Central Java.
- 45 Wei Dynasty: cf. Sirén, Pl. 150a-dated A.D. 525. Davidson (The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art, p. 59) notes that this position with the ankles crossed "could hardly be that of Śākyamuni, but it is the most common position of his successor, Maitreya, who, we safely conclude, then is here portrayed." The most famous examples of pendent legs are found at T'ien Lung Shan (Sirén, Les Arts anciens de la Chine, III, Pl. 60B, dated VI cent. A.p.). Munsterberg, "Chinese Buddhist Bronzes at the Kamakura Museum," p. 107, Pl. 6: this position is rare in Buddhist art of the Far East (p. 108).
- 46 Auboyer, "Un Aspect du symbolisme": the Kondō of the Hōryūji and several other specimens belonging to the Nara period.
- Davidson (p. 59) gives the following description: "one arm is raised so that the index finger may touch the face. The other hand rests on the ankle, which is crossed on the thigh opposite from which the leg hangs pendent. This is the position usually reserved for Sākyamuni's first meditation or Maitreya's meditation and is common in the group of Chili sculptures under consideration."
- Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, p. 98; cf. the position of the hands in the pensive attitude in the Ajanța wall-paintings (Gupta, Les Mains dans les fresques d'Ajanta, p. 19); cf. Foucher, AGBG, fig. 408, p. 211.
 - 49 Musée Guimet, no. 1222/8: Gandhāra; Foucher, fig. 409, 410, and 428.
- 50 Sirén, Pl. 29, left leg reposing on the right knee and left hand raised at shoulder level toward the chin. Pl. 135, Pl. 50; two Bodhisattvas on each side of a Buddha take this pose of reflection - the one on the right has the left leg on the right leg and touches the chin with the left hand index; the Bodhisattva on the left is arranged in the opposite manner. Pl. 52: same as the preceding, but all the fingers touch the chin. Pl. 246 has the left hand on the ankle; Pl. 248, on the calf; Pl. 244 has the left hand on the instep.
 - 51 Ashton, An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture, Pl. XXX, fig. 2.
- 53 This statue is to be identified as Miroku despite the tradition which sees in it a Nyo-i-rin Kannon. The attitude is called "meditative in half-lotus-posture" (hanka shi-i).
 - 54 Sirén, Pl. 50: Foucher, fig. 540, p. 653.
- 55 Ashton, Pl. XX, Avalokiteśvara (Six Dynasties). Getty (p. 83) writes: "This attitude of the god signifies 'meditating on the best way to save mankind.'
 - 56 Koizumi, 55.

NOTES: POSTURES AND THRONES/ATTRIBUTES/ALMS BOWL

57 Sirén, p. 143: "As a general rule, the personages (in this attitude) are entitled Nyo-i-rin Kannon, but they do not have, that I know, a single one of the attributes of Kwanyin." See Ashton, Pl. XV.

Foucher, p. 236: "The specialized use of this flower could constitute an insurmountable objection against any attempt to connect carriers of the red lotus (padma) with Maitreya . . . and yet Japanese artists have attributed the melancholic and pensive pose of Maitreya, with his elbow resting on one of his raised knees, his head leaning against the index of his right hand, to their Miroku." Cf. fig. 548, p. 667, which shows a Miroku with only one index raised.

Cf. Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus, p. 27, fig. 22; and Warner, Pls. 47-67.

- 58 Warner, Pls. 47, 48, 50, 51, and 63. Pl. 60: the left hand lies on the instep-also Pl. 55. Pl. 58: the left hand lies on the ankle.
- 89 Rao, p. 17: oval in form, characteristic of a mirror and having the head and the legs of a tortoise.
- 60 Makara, "monster shaped like a fish" (Eitel, p. 93a). The makara, the rearing lion, and the elephant form the three-element theme (cf. Auboyer, "Un Aspect du Symbolisme" p. 90) which is identified with the attitude of Maitreya and the dharmacakramudrā and which is impregnated with the symbolism of royalty.
- 61 Simhāsana-Lokeśvara in lalitāsana: Mañjuśrī (Mallmann, Intro., p. xii, a, b, d) and Avalokiteśvara in mahārājalīlāsana. Getty, Pl. XIV: Maitreya.

The lotus seat and the lion seat are very often combined in a single seat. For bibliography concerning these seats, see Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 77, n. 76.

62 The royal aspect of the elephant is present in the throne of the Burmans, which is an elephant seat. Cf. Getty, Pl. VIIIb: Gautama Buddha in padmāsana and making the sokuchi-in on a socle formed of elephant heads.

Mus (Barabudur, p. 582, n. 4) cites Scherman, "Buddha im Fürstenschmuck," p. 25 and n. 1 (with references) and li. 4 of the offprint.

Originally Aksobhya is figured on a lion seat, but later he is seated on an elephant seat with the vajra as attribute: this would lead to the metamorphosis of Śākyamuni into an Aksobhya (Mus, Pt. 6, ch. I, p. 581).

63 Ho., pp. 1-3. Kongochorengebushinnenjujiki (T. 873, XVIII, 299b ff.) quoted in Gonda and Ōmura, p. 2.

64 Cf. Kokuyaku Daizökyō, vol. on symbolism, fig. on p. 189.

65 Cf. ibid., fig. on p. 192.

THE ATTRIBUTES: INTRODUCTION

- 1 Cf. BD 592b: cihna or laksana (Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 69) = Sino-Jap. sogo. For transcriptions of laksana, see BD, 1776b; Takata (Indo nankai no bukkyō bijutsu, p. 45) writes that $sh\bar{o}g\bar{o}=laksana-vya\bar{n}jana$, the 32 marks distinctive of the Buddha; the mudrā; the symbolic objects.
- 2 Certain attributes, such as the alms bowl and the vajra are regularly associated with certain Buddhas.
 - 3 Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, Pls. I, II, and V, fig. 18.
- 4 Advayavajra lived around the XI cent. and was an adept of the Aksobhya cult (cf. Bhattacharyya, IBI, p. xxix). His works are found in the Advayavajrasamgraha.
 - 5 Glasenapp, MB, pp. 106-107.
 - 6 Waddell (p. 340) gives a list of 29 objects: trident, drum, chisel-knife, vajra,

double vajra (viśvavajra), rosary, lotus, sistrum, jewel, flames, rope (snare), bell, wheel, skull, vajra dagger, lance, club, dagger, sword, ax, hammer, goad, mace, thigh-bone trumpet, conch shell, chain, stick (pike, water vase).

Cf. ST, I, Senju Kannon: a list of 38 objects; Gonda, SMH, for the symbolic objects of the Shingon sect; and Gordon, Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, pp. 12-19.

ALMS BOWL

- 1 Often the transliteration pa-ta-ra is used. See BD 1397c; and Eitel, p. 117b. The alms bowl of the Buddha is supposed to have been brought to China in A.D. 520 by Bodhidharma (Soothill, p. 418a); cf. also Eitel, p. 117b.
- 2 Foucher, AGBG, pp. 415ff.: "On the example of the 'predestined of former times, the Buddhas perfectly finished,' the Buddha Śākyamuni may not accept an offering with his hands but only with a bowl (pātra). Since he had thrown the golden vase of Sujātā in the river Nairanjana before setting out toward the tree of Knowledge, he has nothing with which to receive the alms of the merchants."

Cf. ibid., p. 416. Foucher mentions the followings texts which elaborate on the details of the patra legend: Buddhacarita, XV, 64; Lalitavistara, XXIV; Mahavastu, III, 304; Mahāvagga, 1, 4, 1. For other texts, cf. Ono Gemmyō, Bukkyō no bijutsu oyobi rekishi.

3 According to Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, pp. 24-25.

4 The Six Things (rokumotsu) are: 1 sanghātī, the patch robe; 2 uttarā sanghātī, the stole of seven pieces; 3 antara vāsaka, the inner skirt of five pieces; 4 pātra, the alms bowl; 5 nisīdana, a stool; 6 a water strainer (Soothill, p. 186a). The first three are known as the san-e, the three robes.

5 Soothill, p. 457b, s.v. ōki.

- 6 Cf. Mallmann, Intro., p. 182, fig. 2. The form of an inverted bell may come from the legend that, in order to give the model of the first stupa to his disciples, the historical Buddha inverted his patra (Mallmann, p. 272). For the description of the historical Buddha's bowl, see Foucher, La Vie du Bouddha, pp. 51f.
 - 7 Sirén, p. 138. Cf. hōbachi, hachi-in, buppatsu-in.

9 Cf. ST, I, Senju Kannon (painting) carries a bowl in the 16th arm (left); cf.

Tsuda, Handbook of Japanese Art, fig. 319.

10 In Sk., Bhaisajyaguru. Yakushi's bowl should probably not be called a pātra. It is more precisely a medicine bowl. In China, according to Sirén (p. 139), Yakushi "carries (often) in one hand a little round pharmaceutical kit or a covered bowl; the other hand lies on his knee where it holds the 'golden fruit.' " Cf. n. 11 under $j\bar{v}$ -in, which gives details on Cf. Jikkanshō, scroll VII, which shows the hōbachi-in, a bowl reposing on the two hands the yakkon-in.

joined in jō-in.

In statues of Yakushi nyorai the left hand lying in the lap and holding the kusuri tsubo or medicine jar, is considered by Esotericists to be in the yogan-in. Yakushi never holds the "jewel pearl" despite the fact that the kusuri tsubo sometimes resembles it.

11 Cf. ZZ, Pl. 95: the left hand extended as if to hold a bowl; compare to Pl. 102 of the same.

12 Cf. Yakushi, wood, Hörinji, Suiko period (Warner, Pl. 30 and ST, IX). The divinity holds a bowl in the left hand, which is held somewhat away from the body, while with the right hand the divinity makes the semui-in.

NOTES: AX/BELL/BOW AND ARROW/CONCH/FLY WHISK/JEWEL

The statue from the Saimyōji (ZZ, Pl. 17), dated 1047, shows Yakushi in padmāsana, the right hand in semui-in, the left hand reposing on the left knee and holding a bowl. Cf. ZZ, Pl. 18, 21 (dated 1074), 102.

AX

1 Williams, p. 22.

2 ST, I, (Senju) Kannon holds an ax in the 6th right arm.

BELL

- "A bell, gong, or any similar resonant article" (Soothill, p. 407a). The Dainichikyō (in Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, Vol. L, 115) uses a transcription of the Sk., i.e., kenda. See also Eitel, p. 59a, and BD 201a, s.v. kane.
- 2 Mallmann, Intro., p. 273: "the bell as an attribute apparently accompanies either prayer or the exuberant dance of Tantric Sivaite divinities."
 - 3 BD 201a.

4 For the use of the bell in the unction ceremony (kanjō) according to Advayavajra, cf. Glasenapp, MB, p. 122.

In Japan one of the characteristic sounds of eventide is the vibration of the temple bell as it rings (in theory, at least) the 108 peals for the 108 passions which bind Sentient Beings to this phenomenal world.

- 5 The different forms of handle: stupa handle (Gondo, SMH, p. 24, fig. 31); vajra handle (p. 25, fig. 32); handle in the form of a (triple) jewel (p. 26, fig. 33); handle in the form of a single-pronged vajra (p. 27, fig. 34); handle in the form of a three-pronged vajra (p. 28, fig. 35).
- 6 The bell is always matched to the vajra, in respect to the number of points. See the excellent example of a Javanese vajra bell in Visser, Asiatic Art, Pl. 211 (p. 503).
- 7 Glasenapp, MB, pp. 105-106. Concerning bells and their pealing, cf. Doré, Researches into Chinese Superstitions, V, s.v. Buddhist Bells, pp. 124-27.
- 8 Cf. Koizumi, no. 36; Aizen Myō-ō holds a bell in the second hand left; in his lap the fifth hand right carries a five-pronged vajra. Note Kongosatta, who bears the vajra as his particular symbol; he also holds a bell (Getty, p. 6).
 - 9 ST, I, Senju Kannon (painting) holds a bell in the 14th right hand.

BOW AND ARROW

- 1 In ZZ, Pl. 157, one of the 22 adamantine generals, Haira taishō (BD 1386c) holds an arrow in the right hand, a bow in the left.
- 2 The Bow of Compassion (hi) is held in the left hand and the Arrow of Knowledge (chi) in the right.
- 3 Cf. ST, I: Senju Kannon, the arrow is held by the 10th left hand, and the bow by the 10th right hand. Cf. Koizumi, no. 36, statue of Aizen Myō-ō with 6 arms; the lower right hand holds an arrow, the lower left a bow.
- 4 Cf. the benevolent Jizō of the Kongōrinji (ZZ, Pl. 69), who holds an immense arrow as big as himself, in the right hand, while with the left hand he holds the wishing jewel, cintāmaņi.
 - 5 Hō., p. 16.

6 Ibid., Pl. I. Cf. pp. 15-16, figs. 6, 8, 9. Renou, IC, p. 496, § 1022: "While it is true that the notion of 'desire' in the cosmogonic order has been exalted since the Atharvaveda, a clearly defined image of a god of Love does not go back further than the epic period."

CONCH SHELL

- 1 BD 1615b, s.v. hora (turbinella rupa).
- 2 Gonda (SMH, p. 60) cites the Dainichikyō 2 (T. 848, XVIII, 12, li. 22).
- 3 $G\bar{a}th\bar{a} = \text{hymn or song often present in the sutras: usually every line has 4, 5, or$ 7 words. The act of "ringing" the conch indicates the turning of the wheel of the Law.
- 4 Gonda, SMH, p. 60: Daisho (T. 1796). For other texts, see Mochizuki, BD (1954), 4645c-4646a.

"The worlds in all directions" = "the 10 directions of space, i.e., the eight points of the compass and the nadir and zenith" (Soothill, p. 50b).

- 5 Cf. the use of this attribute as a symbol of the Doctrine in the kanjō ceremony: Glasenapp, MB, p. 122.
- 6 Williams (p. 73) cites Ruskin, St. Mark's Rest, p. 237. Cf. Ho., p. 169a, rahotsu, "curls in the form of a conch."
 - 7 Si-do-in-dzou, p. 38.

FLY WHISK

- 1 Renou, IC, p. 470, § 2178.
- 2 BD 237a.
- 3 BD 1498a.
- 4 BD 1589b.
- 5 Binayazōji 6 (T. 1451, XXIX, 229b, li. 15 ff.); quoted in BD 1589. Cf. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, II, Pl. 50.
- 6 Mallmann, Intro., p. 275. Cf. Asabashō 48: Fukūkensaku Kannon with 8 arms carries the fly whisk in one of her right hands.
- 7 Cf. the fly whisk which figures in a painting (dated 765) of the Marquis Inoue, Hō., p. 118a. Cf. ZZ, Pl. 136.

Toganoo (MK, p. 44) notes that this whisk doubtless symbolizes the noble lineage of the personage in question. To Hugo Munsterberg (p. 103) this attribute symbolizes "that Kuan Yin is filled with such compassion toward all beings that he is not even willing to harm a fly." For a Zen usage, see Suzuki, Mysticism: Christian and Buddhist, p. 66.

8 Reischauer, Ennin's Travels, p. 186. Reischauer notes that this "duster-like symbol [is] thought to represent either leadership (the tail of the leader deer) or a brush to sweep away the impurities of the world."

JEWEL

Also: shu (jewel), nyo-i-hō (wish-granting treasure: Hō., p. 179a), nyo-i-mani

(wish-granting gem; BD 1348b), gyokushuhō (jewel treasure), etc. See Eitel, p. 96a. Lévi and Chavannes, "Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes," p. 102, n. 1: Nyo-i = "conforme aux désirs." It "designates that supernatural power which saints possess to bend the physical world to their desires."

NOTES: JEWEL/LANCE AND TRIDENT

2 Eitel, p. 96a. Rémusat, Foe koue ki, p. 90: "Mani . . . , a word which means free from stain, and which designates the pearl. This is a brilliant and pure substance, free from stains and impurities. This is why the Yuan kio tchao [Manual of the Pratyeka Buddhas -is it a question of T. 842? -E.D.S.] calls it also ju-i (according to one's desire, to one's intent): the riches that one wishes to possess, vestments, food, any thing which is necessary one may procure them by means of this precious object, according to one's desires, and this is the origin of the name."

Although Japanese authorities identify the mani with the pearl, Finot (Les Lapidaires

indiens, p. xv) writes that "mani means only a precious stone (Manu, XII, 61)."

3 Getty, "a jewel"; Soothill (p. 191b), jewel, crystal, pearl.

4 Eitel: a fabulous pearl; BD 1424b cites the Hizōki (notes of Kōbō Daishi): "The mani is a precious stone, the pearl (?). The moon is called mizu-mani (water mani), and the sun is called ka-mani (fire mani). This is the meaning."

5 If the group has 9 mani they represent the Nine Jewels (nava ratna) borrowed from Brahmanism. If the group has 7 mani they represent the Seven Jewels (sapta ratna). The following are the seven Buddhist jewels, which frequently figure in China and in Tibet (Getty, p. 167, s.v., mani; Zimmer, Philosophies of India, pp. 130-31):

I the golden wheel, standing for the universal perfection of the Law. It is supposed to have fallen from the skies at the moment of the investiture of the cakravartin.

2 the mani or jewel, which grants desires.

3 the royal consort or ideal woman.

4 the white horse or sun-steed of the cakravartin.

5 the white elephant or royal mount. It stands for the propagation of the doctrine.

6 the perfect Minister or civil officer, whose generosity removes poverty and whose justice assures the well-being of all,

7 the perfect General or military leader, whose sword of knowledge repulses the enemy. Cf. Getty, p. 45, for the 13 precious ornaments; concerning this same subject, cf. Bhattacharyya (IBE, pp. 152ff.), who speaks of the "Six mudrās," which designate here the ornaments.

Cf. tri-ratna: Eitel, pp. 181-82.

6 The pearl (in China) has three divisions or five divisions (Williams, p. 407).

7 Glasenapp, p. 157: men = buddha; women = $praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$.

8 In Japan and in China, this pearl may often be found without the flame. This attribute is often seen in the form of a roof finial surmounting holy buildings in Japan.

9 This flame recalls the triśūla, which Burnouf believes serves as an invocation to the supreme divinity. The trisula in the form of a flame or trident may surmount the round object which, according to Beal, symbolizes either the sun surrounded by a flame or the empyrean.

10 Cf. Jizō: ZZ, Pl. 75.

11 Eliot (Japanese Buddhism, p. 346) writes that sometimes the gods hold a colored ball which is supposed to represent the jewel of riches and of generosity. Getty (p. 149) notes that the mani at the top of the shakujo carried by Bishamonten signifies the "completeness of fortune and virtue."

12 Eitel, p. 96a.

13 Soothill, pp. 191, 330; Williams (p. 407) writes that mani means "free from stain," brilliant, and becoming more and more pure.

14 Getty, p. 168.

15 Ibid., s.v. cintāmaņi.

16 This form is associated more precisely with Avalokitesvara (Mallmann, Intro.,

p. 270). In India, according to Mallmann, the cintamani is held in one of the right hands of the six-, twelve- or sixteen-armed Avalokitesvara.

- T. 261; Mochizuki, BD (1954), 4132c.
- T. 203; ibid., 4132c-33a. 18
- T. 643; ibid., 4133a.
- T. 1509; ibid., 4133a. 20
- Cf. Warner, no. 9: Kannon, wood, Suiko period (Yumedono, Hōryūji): Koizumi, no. 55: Nyo-i-rin Kannon with six arms.

A very common position in the Suiko period is that of Warner's no. 104. The Yumedono Kannon holds the jewel between her two hands, in front of her breast; the right hand is face up, the left, face down.

- Warner, no. 106. Kannon (Höryūji), holding a vase in the right hand and a jewel in the left.
- Warner, no. 49 (also ST, I), Nyo-i-rin Kannon has her right hand in semui-in and the left hand lying on the heel of the left leg, the ankle of which is placed on the right knee. The jewel is represented in the diadem. Cf. ST, I, image of Ārya Avalokiteśvara (Shō Kannon), above whom are suspended Seven Jewels: "these jewels seem to represent the Buddhas of the past."

The famous statue of the Chūgūji, often called Nyo-i-Kannon, shows no attribute characteristic of this divinity. Its attitude rather indicates Miroku. (Warner, no. 67, writes "Miroku.") Cf. n. 57 under Thrones and Postures, supra, in the present text. The Nihon no chōkoku (Sept. 1952, p. 7) calls this statue Miroku.

24 ST, VI: Śrī (Jōruriji, Yamashiro, Tempyō period) holds in her raised and advanced left hand the jewel which grants wishes, while the right hand hangs down in segan-in. ST, I: painting in the Yakushiji (Nara), VIII cent., Kichijo-ten holding in the left hand a cintāmaņi, while with the right hand she forms the semui-in (?). The Kichijō-ten of the Nara Museum Collection, Tomyoji (Nara), Jogan period (794-887), offers a jewel with the left hand, while the right hand hangs at her side.

Grousset, Le Japon, fig. 30: Kichijō-ten, Joruriji (Kyoto), XII cent., the left hand raised, palm up, holds the jewel; the right hand makes the segan-in. ZZ, Pl. 25, Kichijō-ten of the Rokumaji holds the jewel in the left hand.

- 25 Hackin, Guide, Pl. X: Turkestan, Tun Huang, Kşitigarbha holds in his right hand the jewel surmounted by a flame; the left hand is in vara (?) mudrā. The Jizō of the Tōdaiji (ZZ, Pl. 61) holds the jewel with the left hand: this jewel is not surmounted by a flame; the right hand held a sistrum. Cf. Pl. 89. See de Visser, ABJ, p. 440: according to the Saishōōkyō, Ch. VII, sect. 14.
- 26 Nyoirindaranikyō (T. 1080, XX, 188b-196b) quoted in Mochizuki, BD (1954),
- 27 Jizōbosatsudaranikyō (T. 1159 B, XX, 655b ff.) quoted in Mochizuki, BD 4133b. (1954), 4133b. Warner, no. 23: Shaka Trinity, Kondō (Hōryūji), Suiko period, in which figure Fugen and Monju on each side of the Buddha: they hold the jewel between their two hands whose little and ring fingers are slightly inflected. In Koizumi (no. 53), the divinity holds a jewel (?) with the right hand at the level of the breast; in the left hand, a shakujo.
 - Jikkanshō, I: (kongōkai) Hōshō holds the jewel with the left hand.

LANCE AND TRIDENT

Cf. Mochizuki, BD (1954) 1507c, s.v. sankogeki. Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp. 15-17, for the discussion concerning the term nandi-pada, which designates the trisula.

NOTES: LANCE AND TRIDENT/LOTUS

2 Ibid., Pl. VI, fig. 23.

3 Williams (p. 376) calls the trident sanko-shō Ch., san ku chang.

4 Mallmann, Intro., p. 274.

5 Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 14; cf. fig. A, p. 15: ". . . our trisūla may also be thought of as a single vajra."

6 Combaz, l'Evolution du stûpa, p. 112.

7 Coomaraswamy: cf. Pl. I, fig. 1, and Pl. II, fig. 1, the pillar of the tree of life (North Torana of Sanchi, c. 100-150 B.c.). In fig. 2, twelve trisula represent the 12 solar months. Pl. IV, fig. 1 (Amarāvatī, c. 100 B.c.), the cakra and the triśūla are represented on the soles of the feet. Pl. VI, fig. 23 (inside of the North Torana, Sanchi, I cent. B.C.). For the Sănchi sculptures, see also Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, II, Pls. 7-12.

8 Cf. Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. I, figs. 5-8. Cf. Toganoo, MK, Pl.

37.

9 Cf. Coomaraswamy, Pl. VI, fig. 22.

10 A not wholly Buddhist symbolism. Cf. cintamani.

11 Coomaraswamy, pp. 13ff.

- 12 Coomaraswamy notes that by addorsing two trisūla, the form of a vajra is obtained. It is incontestable that in all the Far East the vajra also is the symbol of power, strength, and authority.
- 13 Cf. Warner, fig. 40, 41. Jitoku-ten holds a lance, and Tamon-ten with his right hand holds the trident and with his left a stupa: Hackin, Guide, p. 21: the Guardian King Vaiśravaņa, in Turkestan, is always armed with a lance.

14 Gonda and Ōmura, figs. 331-35.

15 Mallmann, Intro., p. 271. There is an association with Tantrism and its Three Mysteries. "Ascetics called tridandin bear this name because they carry three sticks bound together, a sign of their threefold discipline (in thought, word, and act)."

LOTUS

- 1 "The World-lotus naturally blooms in response to the rising of the Sun in the beginning'; in answer to and as a reflection of the light of Heaven mirrored on the surface of the waters" (Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 20).
- 2 Getty, pp. 172-73, s.v. padma. The Buddhas, like the lotus, exist through themselves (svayambhū).
- 3 For the connection between the lotus and the Tree of Life, cf. Coomaraswamy, pp. 17-18. For bibliographic references concerning divine birth, the seat, or the lotus throne, cf. Coomaraswamy, pp. 18-19.

4 Getty, pp. 172-73: cf. here the Nepalese legend.

- 5 After Coomaraswamy, p. 21. For early use of the lotus symbol as a pedestal at Amaravati (III cent. A.D.), see Zimmer, Art of Indian Asia, I, p. 173, and II, Pl. 92a.
 - 5a Ibid., I, p. 175.

6 Coomaraswamy, p. 20.

- 7 For the role of the lotus in the representations of the "Descent of Amida" as a bond between the two worlds, cf. Linossier, "L'Iconographie," p. 119.
- 8 Samyutta Nikāya, III, 140; "Just as, Brethren, a lotus born in the water, fullgrown in the water, rises to the surface and is not wetted by the water, even so, Brethren, the Tathagata, born in the world, full-grown in the world, surpasses the world, and is unaffected by the world" (Coomaraswamy, p. 21).
 - 9 After Coomaraswamy, p. 59.

10 In the hands of Padmapāṇi, the lotus represents the creative power of the divinity. The use of the lotus may also be noted on the porcelains of Ching-te Chen, where it figures as the symbol of summer; cf. Parry, "Chinese Pottery," p. 32a.

11 The garland of lotus worn by the priest in the rājasūya ceremony respresents: indriyam (sensorial operation), vīryam (virility), and kşatram (temporal power) - Coomara-

swamy, EBI, p. 21.

12 Soothill (p. 443a) explains the kinds of lotus as follows:

pundarika, Nymphoea alba (white). utpala, N. caerulea (blue).

kumuda N. rubra (red).

nīlotpala N. cyanea (blue).

13 I.e., Nymphoea rubra. Cf. the Sino-Japanese kuren, and the transcription of the Sk. padma, i.e., ha-do-ma. See BD 1423a for the texts which establish the pronunciation of this name. Shingon adepts say "han-do-ma."

Cf. the example of the red lotus, Foucher, Icon. boud., Pl. IV, 1, 2, 3, 4, in the hands of Avalokiteśvara.

The red lotus is one of the signs seen on the feet of the Buddha. It lends its name to the Red Lotus hell (kuren jigoku), seventh of the eight cold hells, where the skin of the damned bursts like the buds of the red lotus. Eitel (p. 11b) writes that the cold produces blisters not unlike lotus buds.

- 14 I.e., the kumuda or utpala. Sino-Jap. transcription: upatsura (BD 114a). Remmoku, the eye of the (blue) lotus, may also be cited as a term which indicates the marvelous eye of the Buddha. Cf. Foucher, Icon. boud., Pl. VI.
- 15 I.e., the pundarika; particular symbol of purity. To this lotus corresponds the sixth of the eight cold hells, the hell of the blue lotus. Soothill (p. 443a) notes that if the color of the lotus is not noted, the use of a generic word, such as ren or ke, alludes to the white
- 16 Coomaraswamy (EBI, p. 21) notes a līlā-kamala, "lotus of play," representing the universe as a plaything of the supreme divinity, just as the lotus held by a human being constitutes a sort of plaything. In Nepal and in Tibet, the lotus is usually represented in full flower.
- 17 For the Shingon sect, the use of the chrysanthemum with a single stem represents the dharmakāya or Essence Body.

Eliot (Japanese Buddhism, p. 339) writes: "He [Yakushin 827-906] was also the founder of the Hirosawa school of Shingon, school meaning merely a branch which prescribes a special method of study, not which has new doctrines of its own on any important point. . . . Shōbō [832-909] founded the Ōno school."

19 The Three Virtues: dai jo (Great Concentration); dai chi (Great Knowledge); dai hi (Great Compassion); cf. Soothill, p. 87b.

20 Used by the Tendai sect and by the Daigo school of Shingon. Cf. the mandara called the butsugen mandara of the Shinko-in, Kyoto (Mikkyo

daijiten, II, Pl. 126) and the taizōkai mandara (ibid., following p. 1492).

No representation of the Buddha supported by a lotus seat exists before the II cent. A.D., but texts reveal the lotus as a support since ancient times (Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp. 21-22).

In a painting from the caves of Tun Huang, the first footprints of the Buddha are represented in the form of lotus flowers which spring up in his steps; cf. Stein, Ruins of Desert Cathay, II, Pl. VI.

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NOTES: LOTUS/MIRROR/RELIQUARY

24 Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 20.

25 Auboyer, Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne. Coomaraswamy, "The

Position of the Lotus Throne," in EBI.

26 Asabashō 47: Kannon with 11 heads and 4 arms makes the semui-in with her right hand and her left hand holds a lotus. Examples in which the right hand is in varamudrā and in which the left hand holds a vase (which replaces the lotus) may also be seen. According to other texts (cf. ibid.), Kannon with 2 arms makes the varamudrā with the right hand and in front of the breast the left hand holds a vase containing a lotus. Ibid., 48, Kannon with 8 arms holds a lotus in one of her left hands.

27 Mallmann, Intro., p. 267.

28 Avalokiteśvara = Padmapāṇi ("the one who holds the red lotus in his hand").

29 Cf. Mallmann, p. 268. Pāla-Sena (Bengal) = VIII-XII centuries.

30 Cf. Sirén, La Sculpture chinoise, Pl. 282. For Kannon's willow branch, see Senjusengenkanzeombosatsudaihishindarani (T. 1064, XX, 117b, li. 17-23).

31 Ibid., Pl. 322A.

32 Cf. Koizumi, 22: with the left hand the Bodhisattva held an attribute (lotus, vase) while with the right hand he makes the segan-in or the an-i-in (the hand pendent, palm out); cf. segan-in.

Jikkanshō, VII, the Bodhisattvas most often hold the lotus in the left hand: Kannon is

represented in padmāsana, holding the lotus in the left hand.

Koizumi, 27, wooden statue (Heian period?), with the right hand, the Bodhisattva was holding a lotus (?), and with the left he makes the segan-in, the hand almost flat in the lap because of the seated position.

- 33 BBK, p. 508. Cf. Koizumi, 36: Aizen Myō-ō carries a bow, a bell, a lotus, a vajra, and an arrow, and makes the kongō-ken (Diamond Fist). Note also that the bow and arrow symbolize forgetfulness and the lotus "appeases guilty agitation" (Elisséeff, "Mythologie du Japon," p. 402.
- 34 Sk. Kşitigarbha. Kşitigarbha is represented at Tun Huang on a single lotus which supports the two feet (Hackin, Guide, Pl. X).

35 Statue of Jizō at Tun Huang with two lotuses (Getty).

36 Ho., p. 29b: Jikkansho, I, attributes the lotus to (kongokai) Amida; cf. in this same scroll of the Jikkanshō (kongōkai) Fukūjōju seated on a lotus. The gesture of Amida holding a lotus in one or two hands is called muryokosho-in (Gonda and Omura, p. 8), mudrā of Muryōkō (Amida) victorious.

37 Williams, p. 220.

38 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 55 (and fig. 84) give the text of the Hizōki (BD 1461b;

composed by Kōbō Daishi during his sojourn in China).

According to the Jishibosatsugiki (T. 1141, XX, 595, li. 9ff.): "In the middle is erected an image of Miroku (Jishibosatsu). He wears the crown of the Five Tathagata: in the left hand he holds a lotus on which reposes a (dharmadhātu) stūpa of the Essence World; his right hand makes the seppō-in, and he is seated with his legs crossed, soles up" (Gonda and Omura, p. 55).

39 Getty, Glossary, s.v. lotus.

MIRROR

- See BD 83b.
- 2 Cf. the use of the mirror in the $kanj\bar{v}$ ceremony in Glasenapp, MB, p. 122.

- 3 Ibid., p. 106.
- 4 Cf. ST, I, Senju Kannon (painting), who carries the mirror in her fifth right hand.
- 5 Hō., p. 40a, s.v. Ashuku. Cf. the connection of this attribute with the Mirror Knowledge, daienkyöchi (n. 27 under chi ken-in, supra), one of the Four Knowledges and one of the shi-in ("four seals"), characteristic of Ashuku. Cf. BD 18c.

RELIQUARY

- So-to-ba (Sk. stūpa), a mound (Soothill, p. 359a), a hōtō, or precious tower or tower for precious reliques (Eitel, p. 160a).
 - 2 Sk. caitya-karana.
 - 3 Cf. Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. I. Toganoo, MK, fig. 37.
 - 4 Saddharma-pundarīka, tr. Kern, pp. 227f. Cf. tr. by Burnouf, ch. XI, pp. 145-46.
- 5 This notion of universal king (cakravartin) developed under the Maurya, perhaps under the influence of Iran.
 - 6 Cf. Combaz, "L'Evolution du stûpa en Asie," IV, 30.
- 7 Ibid., p. 40. It is interesting to note the resemblance between the Javanese and Tibetan stupas and the alms bowl of the Buddhist monk.
 - 8 Ibid., p. 41.
- 9 Ibid., p. 98. According to Mus (Barabudur, pp. 115ff.) the pillar is the cosmic axis, a kind of central mountain. For a study of the cosmic pillar, cf. Przyluski, "Le Symbolisme du pilier de Sārnāth," pp. 481-98.
 - 10 According to Smidt, p. 203; based on the Himitsu hyakuwa.
- 11 Glasenapp, MB, p. 107. Earth: square or cube; water: circle or sphere; fire: triangle or pyramid; air: half circle or half sphere; void: triangle surmounted by a half circle or pyramid placed on top of a half sphere. Cf. the stūpa of the tomb of Kōbō Daishi on Mt. Kōya. For sūtra of geometrical forms, see Sonshobucchoshuyugahokigi (T. 973, XIX, 369b).

Combaz (p. 56) gives the following table:

part base superstructure	form square triangle crescent	element earth fire air	syllable am ram ham	color yellow red black	
top of superstructure terminal point of superstructure	crescent or	void	kham Lby Rémus	various	ומ

This symbolism is attested in the Få houa wen kiu, cited by Rémusat 91, 92.

According to Combaz, IV, p. 77:

The Four Applications of the mind: to the body, to the First tier senses, to thought, to things. The Four Efforts. The Four Factors of miraculous power. Second tier

The Five Faculties (i.e., the Five kon; cf. my Diag. II. Third tier The Seven members of Enlightenment: the harmika or Fourth tier Base of the dome finial indicates the Eightfold Path.

The Ten Knowledges. Each of the ten umbrellas corresponds to one of the powers of the Buddha. The 11th, Mast (tree of life) 12th, and 13th umbrellas represent the three applications of memory characteristic of the Buddha. The great

NOTES: RELIQUARY/ROPE/ROSARY

umbrella which surmounts the pinnacle symbolizes the great compassion of the Buddha toward all Sentient Beings.

The moon
The sun

The pure thought of Enlightenment.

Replacing the mirror = the Four Transcendental Knowledges and the peak of supernatural faculties.

The mastery of these qualities permits the adept to unite with the supreme Buddha (Vairocana).

13 This explanation is according to Smidt, VI, pp. 203-204.

- 14 Ibid., p. 204. This stūpa bears the mystic syllables "a-ba-ra-ka-kya" written on the frontal part. For the syllables of other sects, cf. this same reference. Cf. also no. 32, under "The Contribution of Tantrism," supra.
 - 15 There are several variants at Barabudur.
- The Guardian Kings (Tamon-ten, Vaiśravaṇa), Jikoku-ten (Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Sōchō-ten (Virūḍhaka), and Kōmoku-ten (Virūpākṣa) figure in all the religious iconography of Tibet, China, and Japan. Combaz (p. 143) gives the following list: Dhṛtarāṣṭra plays a sort of guitar: Virūpākṣa holds in his right hand a jewel in the form of a reliquary and in his left hand a serpent; virūḍhaka tramples on a demon; Vaiśravaṇa holds in his right hand a banner and in his left a stūpa. Cf. Sirén, Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine, Pls. 387, 388, 389. These kings figure, two by two, on the tower of Hiang-chi monastery near Si-an-fu (capital of the T'ang).
- Warner, nos. 41, 32, 33; Koizumi, nos. 45, 49; ST, I: "The Four Mahārājas of Heaven."
- 18 Combaz, p. 142: "A passage of the Lalitavistara lends to the four guardian kings of the world a complete arsenal of arms and mail coats, even a plume."
- 19 Koizumi, no. 44; Tamon-ten (Bishamon-ten, Vaiśravaṇa) holds in his right hand a lance and in his left hand, at shoulder level, as if to display it, a stūpa. Fig. M (Pl. XXXI): the base is in the form of a lotus and the six balls replace the original parasols and probably symbolize the Six pāramitā or Perfections (cf. Pl. XXXI, fig. 0).

Koizumi, no. 45: Tamon-ten holding a stūpa of a different form (fig. N. Pl. XXXI): cf. the stūpa in the $Asabash\bar{o}$ 73. Warner, no. 41 (ST, IV), shows Tamon-ten (Hōryūji) holding a pagoda with the left hand, a trident with the right.

- Cf. "Stūpa" under the heading "Jewel," cintāmaņi, supra.
- Cf. Ho., Bishamon, pp. 79-83, and figs. 37, 38, 39.
- 20 Getty (p. 21) writes that Maitreya carries in his crown a "stūpa-shaped ornament which is his distinctive mark."
- 21 Jikkanshō, I: (taizōkai) Dainichi carries a stūpa, which is based on the type that is composed of geometric forms and reposes on a lotus; the whole thing is surmounted by symbols of the moon and the sun (fig. P)—cf. n. 12, supra.

ROPE

- 1 Williams, p. 252.
- 2 Ibid.: this attribute is one of the Eight Treasures.
- 3 Mallmann, Intro., p. 270.
- 4 BD 412c. For the use of the rope in the kanjō ceremony, cf. Glasenapp, MB, p. 123. Note the use of the rope by Durgā, wife of Siva; also by Varuṇa, the water god, who rules the clouds, rain, etc.

- 5 BD 1335c.
- 6 The Three Studies: 1 discipline refers to the vinaya; 2 concentration refers to the sutrās; 3 wisdom refers to the śāstras. Cf. Soothill, p. 63a, s.v. san gaku, "three studies."
- 7 Cf. Zuzō daishūsei, p. 16: Fudō holds the sword in the right hand and the rope in the left. See figs. 107-120. See also Koizumi, no. 35. Fudō holds in the right hand a sword (with four sides) terminating in a vajra: in the left hand, pendent, he holds a rope whose two ends are supplied with a ring and a lotus bud (?).
- 8 Cf. ST, Fudō (Acala) of the Kōōgokokuji (Tōji), Kyoto. This divinity is supposed to be an incarnation of Mahāvairocana. He holds in his left hand a sword and in his right a rope which symbolizes his role as subduer of demons.
 - 9 See Mochizuki, BD (1954), 949c-950b.
 - 10 Hō., p. 43b.
- 11 In Sk., pañca-vairamani. See Soothill, p. 118b. Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme japonais, p. xxxix, calls them the Five "Precepts": 1 prānātighātād virati; 2 adattādānād virati; 3 parastrīgamanād virati; 4 mrsāvādād virati; 5 madyapānād virati.
 - 12 Bhattacharyya, IBI, p. 195.

ROSARY

- 1 Also in Sino-Jap.: juzu (BD 985c and Hō., 38b, s.v. ashamara); juju (Gonda, SMH, pp. 72ff.); hasoma (BD 1397b); mālā (Soothill, p. 436a).
 - 2 Also in Sk. akşamālā.
- 3 The importance of the rosary in Southern Buddhism is not so great as that accorded it in Northern Buddhism. See Gonda, SMH, p. 72ff.
 - 4 Williams, p. 310. Cf. the Four Rosaries (shi nenju) Soothill, p. 175a.
- 5 Gonda, SMH, p. 74. The 108 honorable ones in the vajradhātu (kongōkai) are called, in Japanese, hyakuhachi-son. The 108 passions and delusions are also called the 108 karma bonds.
- 6 Williams, p. 310. The number 18 plays an important role in Hinduism: thus, 108 (with the insertion of zero) and 1008 (with the insertion of 2 zeros). There are 108 Upanișads, 108 names of Vișnu in the Mahābhārata, and 108 names for Śiva.

Note the sacred character of the number 108 in Tibet; there are 108 volumes of the Kangyur (in certain editions), 108 signs of Buddhahood, 108 votive lamps. There are also 108 names of the Buddha ($H\bar{o}$., 194a). Soothill, p. 8a, s.v. 108 (astasatam): "The 108 kleśa, distresses, disturbing passions, or illusions of mankind, hence the 108 beads on a rosary, repetitions of the Buddha's name, strokes of a bell, etc., one for each distress."

108 is the number of beads on a Sivaite rosary and is commonly used as a quasi-magical number in various religions in India. Its importance derives from 10,800, its multiple, the number of moments in the year and the number of verses in the Rg Veda, according to the Satapathabrāhmaņa (Filliozat).

- 6a On the number 108 see Scheftelowitz, "Die bedeutungsvolle Zahl 108 im
- 6b Doré (Researches into Chinese Superstitions, V, 526-28) notes (somewhat ir-Hinduismus und Buddhismus." relevantly, it seems) that the 108 beads equal the total of the twelve months, the 24 terms into which the solar calendar has been divided, and the 72 divisions of the Chinese year into 7 Waddell (p. 202) states that, according to tradition, the largest of the three periods of 5 days: 12 + 24 + 72 = 108.

NOTES: ROSARY/SCROLL AND BRUSH/SISTRUM/SWORD

beads corresponds to the Buddha: the outside little one corresponds to the Community and the inside little one to the Doctrine.

8 The string represents Kannon (Gonda, SMH, p. 74) and consequently is red to symbolize the divinity's Compassion.

9 Gonda, SMH, p. 73, li. 13ff. The kazutori may also be composed of 6 beads on two strands. In this case each bead stands for one of the Six Perfections.

10 For different ways of holding the rosary, cf. the Soshicchigiki in Daizōkyō zuzō. VII, 17, fig. 58 (butsubu); 59 (rengebu), 60 (kongōbu).

11 Mallmann, Intro., p. 270.

- 12 The rosary is almost always held in the right hand of Avalokitesvara with two hands; the left carries a red lotus, "but later it will no longer be an attribute of the twohanded Avalokitesvara." The water vase (kamandalu), the red lotus (padma), and the rosary (akşamālā) constitute, according to Mallmann (Intro., p. 266), the common attributes of Avalokiteśvara.
- 13 Beal, A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, p. 393, and Getty, p. 171 (whose note refers to Beal). Cf. Burnouf, tr., Lotus de la bonne loi, p. 264.
 - 14 Gonda, SMH, p. 74.

15 Ibid.

16 ST, VII, cf. Shunjō (1167-1228), a monk of the Shingon sect. He rebuilt the Tōdaiji after the fire in 1180. Cf. the statues of Unkei and Tankei of the Rokuharamitsuji, Kyoto. For different ways of holding the rosary, cf. the Soshicchigiki (see n. 10, supra).

SCROLL AND BRUSH

1 Komoku-ten, ZZ, Pl. 133, carries a brush (right hand) and a scroll (left hand). Cf. also Pl. 4.

2 Cf. Williams, p. 311.

- 3 Mallmann, Intro., p. 271. The leaves are called baita (Sk. pattra) Hō., p. 47b.
- 4 ST, I, Senju Kannon: for example, the brush is held in the 13th right hand, while the scroll (sūtra) is held in the 14th right hand.
- 5 Cf. Warner, nos. 3, 7: Kōmoku-ten (Virūpākṣa), one of the four divine mahārājas (the others: Tamon-ten [Vaiśravaṇa], Jikoku-ten [Dhṛtarāṣṭra], Zōchō-ten [Virūḍhaka]) in the Kondō of the Hōryūji, holds in his right hand a brush and in his left a scroll. Cf. also the ST, IV.
- 6 Cf. Taizan-ō (ZZ, Pl. 91). BD 1099a: Taizan pukun. According to Matsumoto Eiichi (Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, I, pp. 757-61) one of the attributes of Vasetta (Vasu Rsi) of the Păli sūtras is a scroll-cited from Davidson, The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art, p. 47 and n. 59.

SISTRUM

- 1 Sistre (Hō.) canne (tsue: Matsudaira), crosse (Sirén), sounding staff (Getty), monk's staff (Soothill), alarm-staff (Williams).
- 2 See BD 802a: shakujō (pewter stick), shinjō (voice stick), ujō (sounding stick), chijō (knowledge stick), tokujō (virtue stick).

3 Khakkhara = kikira (BD 237a; Soothill, pp. 368a, 418b).

4 Warner, Buddhist Wall-Painting, Pl. XVII: Kşitigarbha. Sir Aurel Stein found the representation of this attribute at Tun Huang on banners and wall-paintings. Von le Coq notes its presence at Turfan (Getty, p. 169).

- 5 Williams, p. 4.
- 6 Mochizuki, BD (1954), 2152c; according to the Shibunritsu (T. 1428, XXII, 956a ff.); also cf. Matsudaira, "La Canne et Jizō," p. 275.
 - 6a Daibikusanzenigi 2 (T. 1470); Mochizuki, BD (1954), 2152c.
 - 6b T. 1503; Mochizuki, BD (1954), 2153a.
- 7 Williams (p. 4) states that the Buddha is supposed to have possessed a pewter staff, the handle of which was in sandalwood and the rings in pewter.
- More rarely with 8 rings. Cf. the Old Man Kāsyapa in Chavannes, Mission, Vol. I of plates, Pl. CXCVII (no. 323, Cave M). This personage holds a sistrum in the right hand (8 rings). Also cf. Pl. XII of Hackin, Guide,
- 9 Pain, the cause of pain, the cessation of pain, the path which leads to the cessation of pain.
- 10 ZZ, Pls. 46, 50. Certain sects make it the representation of Mount Meru (Getty).
- 11 Pratyekabuddha = a solitary Buddha, without masters, without disciples; = Buddha-for-self, who seeks enlightenment for himself alone (engaku)-Hō., Suppl. to the 1st fasc., p. 11.
 - 12 Mochizuki, BD (1954), 2152b.
- 13 This translation is based on the Shakujōkyō (T. 785, XVII, 724a, li. 23ff.) quoted in BD 802a. The text confirms Matsudaira's translation "la canne de l'Intelligence." The vital essence is supposed to reside in the head of the sistrum (cf. Matsudaira, "La Canne et Jizō'').
 - 14 Cf. BD 1755c.
 - 15 Cf. Maspéro, Les Religions chinoises, p. 73.
- 16 Koizumi, no. 13: Jizō holding a sistrum (National Treasure); Getty, Pl. XXXIII, b, c, d. ZZ, Pl. 77, wishing jewel and sistrum (in the right hand).
- 17 Koizumi, no. 53: Monju holding in the right hand a jewel and in the left a sistrum with six rings.
- ST, VII: cf. the photograph of the sistrum belonging to the Zentsūji (Sanuki). To the knowledge of the present writer, the khakkhara is not a symbol of Avalokiteśvara in India. The Asabashō 48, indicates that Fukūkensaku Kannon (Sk. Amoghapāśa) carries a sistrum in the upper left hand. Getty claims (incorrectly) that Fukūkensaku Kannon is not a part of the Shingon pantheon (cf. Getty, p. 80). The 1,000-armed Kannon carries the shakujō in one of her 40 arms, whence the name shakujō-shu, or shakujō hand.
- 19 Yakushi is so represented specifically in Chinese paintings, where he is also depicted mounted on an elephant. See de Visser, ABJ, p. 566.

SWORD

- 1 Riken, the short sword which symbolizes Amida and Monju, is the emblem of their Knowledge, their power of discrimination, and their victory over Evil.

 - 3 For the use of the sword in the kanjō ceremony, according to the Candamahāro-
- sanatantra, cf. Glasenapp, MB, pp. 122-23.
- 4 Williams, p. 353. Williams also notes (p. 353) that in Taoism the sword is the special emblem of Lü Tung-pin, one of the Eight Immortals; it symbolizes the victory of this worthy over Evil. Lü, armed with the sword, goes throughout the world subjugating the powers of darkness. 257

5 According to the Dainichikyō, cited in Gonda and Ōmura, p. 144, li. 6-7. Cf. Ibid.,

chapter on Fudō, pp. 144-51.

According to the BD 1535a, the sword signifies (a) Knowledge of the Mean, a knowledge as unshakable in the domain of existence as in that of void; (b) the defeat of Māra brought about by brandishing the sword of Knowledge of the Mean, which characterizes the lack of polarity. See also Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture, pp. 90ff.

6 Zuzō daishūsei 40, shows Fudō carrying the sword in the right hand, while with his left hand erect he upholds a six(?)-spoked wheel. On p. 16, cf. figs. 107-20. Koizumi,

no. 35: the pommel of his sword is in the form of a vajra.

- 7 Gonda and Ōmura, figs. 257 and 258.
- 8 The 9 Realms are: desire, paradise after earthly life, paradise of cessation of rebirth, land of wondrous joy, land of abandonment of thought, land of infinite space, land of omniscience, land of nothingness, and land of knowledge without thinking or not thinking (cf. Soothill, pp. 16-17).

9 ZZ, Pl. 150: Monju holds the erect sword in his right hand, the attribute of the

left hand is lost.

10 Koizumi, no. 20.

VAJRA

1 Also bazara (BD 475a); cf. Hō., p. 62b; Soothill, p. 280b; and Mochizuki, BD (1954), 1333-1335. Tib. = rdo rje.

2 Vajra signifies (according to Glasenapp, MB, pp. 23-24):

1 Diamond, precious stone.

- 2 Thunderbolt, attribute of Indra and other divinities; in a general way, any kind of arm capable of being put into action (e.g., water vajra (poetical = the transparency of water; a vajra word = a word which acts).
- 3 Scepter which priests of the Esoteric school hold (present in the armorial bearings of the Dalaï Lama).

4 Symbol of the Absolute (\$\bar{u}nyat\bar{a}\).

5 First part of certain names indicating indestructibility, etc. (e.g., Vajrabodhi, Vajrasiddhi). (Vajrapāša, the lasso, is so called when a vajra is attached to the end of the rope; this is an unbreakable, adamantine rope with which to tie the enemies of Buddhism.)

Conze, Buddhism, p. 178: "Itself unbreakable, it breaks everything else. In later Buddhist philosophy the word is used to denote a kind of supernatural substance which is as hard as a diamond, as clear as empty space, as irresistible as a thunderbolt."

- 3 Getty, p. 180.
- 4 Soothill, p. 201.
- 5 Cf. Contenau, Manuel d'archéologie orientale, figs. 111, 124, 139, 663, 697, 704.

6 Cf. Contenau, La Civilisation d'Assur et de Babylone, figs. 19 and 22.

- 7 Double vajra: cf. the likeness between this form and the sign placed "at the end of a subject of composition because it (is) derived from the character which means nirvāņa (without passions) and which is the last stage in the perfection of the soul" (Ymaïzoumi, Shidda, p. 331).
- 8 Getty, p. 180. The Indian three-pointed vajra is flat, the points separated, while the Tibetan vajra (dorje) is round and, since the points are closed, resembles a lotus bud.
 - 9 Indra in the Hindu legend represents temporal power (ksatra) and Agni spiritual

power (Brahmā). Thus Indra is called "vajrin, vajra-bāhu" (Coomaraswamy, EBI, pp.

10 Cf. Coomaraswamy, p. 15, for the use of the vajra in the Buddhist legend.

- 11 Cf. BD 475a. The Bommokyökoshakuki (T. 1815, XL, 687b ff.), quoted in BD 475a: "What is characteristic of the diamond (i.e., hardness) is called kongō." Sanzōhōsu (BD 620c), quoted in BD 475a: "One says $kong\bar{o}$ because it (is a question of) the extreme
 - 12 Diamond World. Ho., p. 62.
- 13 According to Advayavajra, the vajra, symbol of sovereignty, figures in the ceremony of unction, kanjö (Glasenapp, MB, p. 122).

14 Cf. Advayavajra, p. 23 in Glasenapp, MB; cited on page 105.

The kongōkai symbolizes Knowledge (inseparable from Reason) considered as essential for individual salvation; the taizōkai symbolizes Reason (inseparable from Knowledge), considered as essential for the salvation of others.

16 Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme japonais, p. 92.

- 17 Cf. Coomaraswamy, EBI, p. 15, for bibliography on this subject. For the Vedic vajra, cf. pp. 14f.
 - 18 Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. I, fig. 6.

19 Hackin, Guide, p. 21.

20 Cf. Coomaraswamy, Pl. VI, fig. 26. The Vedic vajra may well have been of this kind (p. 14). Mochizuki, BD (1954), 1334a, in the Jishibosatsuryakushuyuganenjuhō (T. 1141), last volume. 1-5-pronged vajras are explained and in the Daihimitsuomandara 5 (T. 889) such vajra as the following are mentioned: Tathāgata's vajra, marvelous vajra, anger vaira. Also mentioned are the 1, 3, 5, and 9-pronged types as well as the 4-faced, 12pronged type.

21 Ibid., p. 44.

- 22 Ibid., Pl. VI, fig. 27.
- 23 Ibid., p. 44.

24 Ibid.

"In Shingon symbolism, the vajra, Kongō, is always represented as 'supported' by a lotus, that is, by a universal 'ground,' the relation of vajra to lotus being that of 'impartible essence' to 'universal substance'; and it is in the 'middle region,' i.e. 'round about' the axis of the vajra, between the centre and the felly of any wheel, that all existence is extended" (Coomaraswamy, p. 45).

26 Cf. Coomaraswamy, Pl. VI, fig. 27. Compare with the kombei, sticks used for the symbolic operation of the cataract, from the point of view of form and use (Ho., p. 261a,

fig. 79).

In the Matrix World the prongs (of the vajra) repose in vases called amrta-kalaša, and are surmounted by a three-pointed vajra (cf. Hō., p. 269b). Coomaraswamy (p. 14) reports that the Rg Veda speaks of a three-pointed vajra (Rg Veda, I, 52, 15).

27 Cf. Glasenapp, MB, fig. on p. 23 (or p. 112 in Buddhismus). Coomaraswamy (p. 14) speaks of a "Four-angled rain producer" mentioned in the Rg Veda, VIII, 7, 22.

29 The vajra is said to have been introduced into Tibet by Padmasambhava in the VIII century. Cf. Milloué, Petit guide au Musée Guimet, p. 100: image de Dorje.

30 Gonda and Ömura, p. 35.

The Five Elements (earth, water, fire, air, void) form the phenomenal world (taizōkai): added to them is Discernment (shiki; Sk. vijñāna) as the sixth element, which

NOTES: VAJRA/VASE

represents the kongōkai. The two worlds (taizōkai and kongōkai) are inseparable, indivisible, for there is, of course, no Discernment without the other elements. This sixth element (vijnāna) is subdivided into the Five Knowledges. Cf. Soothill, p. 120, who gives the following:

- 1 Dharmadhātu-prakṛti-jñāna: Dainichi-center-void.
- 2 Ādarša-jāāna: Ashuku-east-earth.
- 3 Samatā-jñāna: Hōshō-south-fire.
- 4 Pratyavekşana-jñāna: Amida-west-water.
- 5 Krtyanuşthana-jñana: Fukujöju-north-air.
 - 32 Glasenapp, MB, p. 105.
- 33 Elisséeff, "Mythologie du Japon," p. 402. The vajra given to the adept during the kanjo ceremony (unction) is supposed to be able to ward off demons.
 - 34 Gonda, SMH, p. 35.
 - 35 Williams, p. 363: cf. also club (kan-jō), emblem of authority, p. 226.
 - 36 BD 290b.
 - 37 Gonda, SMH, p. 35.
- 58 Coomaraswamy (EBI, p. 15) claims incorrectly, by the way that the Shingon sect uses types of vajra having from 1 to 8 prongs.
 - 39 Soothill, p. 16a.
 - 40 Ibid., p. 16b.
 - 41 Ibid., p. 18a.
 - 42 Hō., p. 48a. Cf. Bajarahani (i.e., Vajrapāņi).
 - 43 Bhattacharyya, IBE, p. 129.
- 44 Cf. ST, II. Vajrapāņi of the Todaiji (Nara) holds a single-point vajra, and Nārāyaņa holds a club.
 - 45 Cf. the portrait photograph of Gonda Dai-ajari in his SMH.
- 46 The Jikkansho, scroll I, indicates the vajra (five-pointed) as the attribute of Ashuku. In Tibet, the five-pointed vajra is associated with Amida; the single-pointed is associated with Muryoju; the viśvavajra, that is, the double vajra in the form of a cross with Fukūjoju-it is also the attribute of his šakti, Tārā: (five-pointed) with Kaifuke-o.

For the viśvavajra (i.e., komma kongō or karma-vajra), cf. Coomaraswamy, Pl. VI, fig. 28. Consult his note concerning this vajra for the explanation of its use and its symbolism.

The takara-no-bō, held in the right hand of Bishamon and Uhō Dōji, should not be confused with the tokko or single point vajra.

VASE

- 1 Hō., p. 265a: byō is the "generic designation for different sorts of receptacles most generally intended to contain water: vases, pitchers, vials, bottles."
- 2 Kalaśa: for transcriptions see Soothill, p. 442a. Mallmann (Intro., p. 266) notes under the common attributes of Avalokitesvara the kamandalu or water vase. Hō. (p. 265a) gives the kundikā as the water-jar of a monk, iconographic attribute, or ritual vase. Eitel (pp. 79-80) glosses kuṇḍikā as "watering pot." Kalaśa: bellied jar, miraculous vase Bhadraghața, containing "all that may be desired" (cf. $H\bar{o}$., p. 267b); this term is used in Esotericism. The equivalents of kalasa are: hōbyō, "jewel jar," and kembyō, "wisdom jar," this latter being the symbol of Earth (p. 268a). Wisdom jar is probably a bad translation of the Sk. bhadraghaţa, which may correspond to kundikā. Tib. = tse-bum.

- 3 For disciplinary jars, recipients of a utilitary nature, cf. the article in $H\bar{o}$., pp. 965ff.
- 4 $H\bar{o}$., p. 266a-b (bracketed material as in the edn. of $H\bar{o}$.). Coomaraswamy and Kershaw ("A Chinese Buddhist Water-vessel") try to show that this jar with a thin lip and a lateral spout, which I-ching describes, though well attested in Buddhist sites in India before I-ching, does not appear in archaeology and in Far Eastern art until the VIII cent. (p. 270a). Cf. Gairola, "Evolution du pūrņa ghaţa,"
 - 5 Glasenapp, MB, p. 99.
- 6 Hō., p. 270a. Tucci (A propos d'Avalokitesvara," p. 178) reports: "It is quite understandable that little by little the kamandalu became a lotus; the symbolism of the two is the same; the base, in the liturgy of India, from the times of the rituals expounded in the Brāhmanas up to the ghatasthāpana of the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ as is practiced even today, is the symbol of the magic universe where the priest operates (see Tibetan Painted Scrolls [Pls. 59-63 and] p. 377, no. 33)."

Cf. also R. Stein, "Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient," pp. 53ff.

- 8 Ibid.; Rokujūkegonkyō 59 (T. 278, IX, 776a, li. 14-15), tr. Buddhabhadra. The Hō. (p. 267a) speaks of a kudokubyō "which permits the granting of all wishes" and a "vase of plenitude," honnogada (Sk. pūrnaghata).
- 9 Williams, p. 384. There is also a wisdom vase (Hō., p. 268a) symbolic of the element earth, for earth both contains and sustains every thing.

In the unction ceremony $(kanj\bar{o})$, the master dips from the vase (kalasa) the water with which he will sprinkle the neophyte, an action which is supposed to grant symbolically to this latter the nectar of Knowledge (cf. kanjō-in).

- 10 Ho., 267b. For the unction rite, 6 or 18 kalasa may be made either in precious metals (gold, silver, etc.), or in porcelain. They are filled with filtered water, which is perfumed with diverse aromas. For further details see Ho., p. 267b. Cf. ibid., p. 268a, for the gobyō kanjō.
- 11 Gonda and Ōmura, p. 18. Dainichi (Vairocana, center); Höshō (Ratnasambhava, south); Amida (Amitābha, west); Fukūjōju (Amoghasiddhi, north); Ashuku (Akşobhya, east) - Soothill, p. 120.

The vases correspond also to the colors: red (NE), yellow (SE), blue (SW), black (NW), white (middle) - Gonda. The vase in the middle is larger than those situated in the four cardinal points.

- 12 The water of the five vases symbolizes the Five Knowledges of the Tathāgata in order that he may continue the genealogy of the Buddhas (Tajima, p. 12), or the Five Esoteric Sections (Buddha, Lotus, Jewels, Diamond, Act (Ho., p. 267b).
- 13 $H\bar{o}$., p. 268b: "In Japan the flower vases form with the incense burners ($k\bar{o}ro$) and the candle holders (shokudai) what are called the complete altar fittings (gusoku). These three objects are already mentioned together in a Chinese text going back probably to the T'ang dynasty" (Chokushuhyakujöshingi-T. 2025, XLVIII, 1141c).
- 14 $H\bar{o}$., p. 267b: "precious substances, numbering twenty (5 mineral jewels [$\hbar\bar{o}$], 5 cereals, 5 perfumes, 5 medicinal plants), which represent in reduction the cosmic treasures."
 - 15 Gonda, SMH, p. 18.
- Senjusengenkanzeombosatsudaibishindarani (T. 1064, XX, 117b) specifies that even in this case the jar is the Convention Form of Brahmā and that it is necessary to address this hand of Kannon if one desires to be born in Brahma's heaven ($H\delta$., p. 267a).

- 17 Mallmann, Intro., p. 267. The water vase is the oldest attribute of Avalo-kitesvara, but the red lotus the most frequent.
- 18 The Indian vase is round or oval; the Gandhāran one is pointed and without a base. If the vase is supported by a lotus flower, it is generally provided with a base and a spout. No vase of Avalokiteśvara, as Mallmann notes, possesses the filling tube which the ascetic's vase normally has.
- 19 $H\bar{o}$., p. 269a: "ho Jar"; this bird is accepted as being a garuda. Pots of this type may have been made originally in a country called Ho, to the north of the Himalayas. The Tibetan term, by a ma bum = Sk. karaka; by a ma signifies "female bird."
- The water vase of Avalokitesvara in India is always held by a left hand: rare in statues of Avalokitesvara with two arms, frequent in statues of Avalokitesvara with six arms (Mallmann, *Intro.*, p. 267). Kannon with two arms in Japan is often provided with the vase (Warner, nos. 77, 79, 82, 94, 96–100, 105, 106).
- Cf. Warner, no. 14: Kannon of the Kondō, Hyōryūji, holding a vase in the left hand and making the segan-in with the right; no. 31: Kannon (Hōryūji)—the vase is in the left hand and the segan-in is formed by the right hand. Cf. ST, I, Kannon with 1,000 arms (Senju Kannon), who carries a water vase in her fourth left hand.
- 21 Cf. the two-armed Kannon ($H\bar{o}$., Pl. XX), who holds a willow branch in her left hand and a bell in the right.
- Sirén (La Sculpture chinoise, p. 143) writes that the vase "contains the heavenly dew, the nectar of immortality which they [the gods] are supposed to sprinkle about on their adorers."
 - 23 Hō., p. 268b.
- Gonda and Ōmura, p. 54, fig. 83. The kuṇḍikā serves as a Convention Form for Maitreya in the Diamond World. It follows the description made by Gijō (I-ching; Nankai-kikinaihōden, T. 2125, quoted in Hō., p. 266a). Cf. also Daizōkyō zuzō I, pp. 916 (fig. 100), 1071 (fig. 56), 1123 (fig. 38), 1180 (fig. 60), quoted in Hō., p. 266a.
- 25 Cf. Mallmann, Intro., p. 266. The amṛta-kalasa figures also in the circles (maṇḍala) separately according to the ritual.
- 26 Hō., p. 267a; this is also the attribute of Amoghapāśa (Fukükensaku), Cundī (Shundei), Agni (Katen), and Atri (Ateiri), in the Matrix World (p. 269a-b).
 - 27 Getty, p. 169.





AB: Art Bulletin. Providence, R. I., or New York.

ABJ: see DE VISSER, Ancient Buddhism in Japan.

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AGBG: see Foucher, L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra.

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BBK: see Ono GEMMYŌ, Bukkyō bijutsu kōwa.

BD: see Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten; also Oda Tokunō, Bukkyō daijiten. Beal, Samuel. A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese. London: Trübner, 1871.

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Abbreviations used in the index: m. = mudrā; attr. = attribute; post. = posture. * indicates an illustration on the page cited. The superscript numbers indicate notes.

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